ओ३म् ।

अथ सप्तमाध्यायस्य प्रथमः पादः ।

BOOK SEVENTH.

Chapter First.

युवोरनाकौ ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ यु-वोः, अन-अकौ ।

वृत्तिः ॥ यु वु इत्येतयोरुत्सृष्टविशेषणयोरनुनासिकयणोः प्रत्यययोर्ग्रहणं तयोः स्थाने यथासङ्ख्यं अन अक इत्येतावादेशौ भवतः ।

Kârikâ युवोरभेद् द्वित्वनिर्देशो द्वित्वे यण्तु प्रसज्यते । अथ चेदेकवद्भावः कथ पुंवद्भवेदयम् ॥
द्वित्वे नैगमिको लोप एकत्वे नुमनित्यता । आशिष्यत्वाद्धि लिङ्गस्य पुंस्त्वं वेहि समाश्रितम ।

1. For यु and वु (nasalised) in an affix, are substituted respectively अन and अक ॥

यु and वु are taken here as stripped of all other indicatory letters, and the semi-vowels are also to be understood to have been nasalised. The अन replaces यु, and अक replaces वु ॥ Thus ल्यु (III. 1. 134) = अन, as नन्द + ल्यु = नन्दनः रमणः ॥ So also ट्यु and ट्युल् (IV. 3. 23), as सायंतनः, चिरंतनः ॥ वु we find in ण्वुल् (III. 1. 133), as कृ + ण्वुल् = कारकः, हारकः ॥ So also वुन् (IV. 3. 98) as वासुदेवकः, अर्जुनकः ॥

Why do we say nasalised यु and वु? Observe ऊर्णाया युस् (V. 2. 123) Here the यु is not replaced by अन, and we have ऊर्णायुः ॥ So also in भुजिमृङ्भ्यां युक्त्युकौ ॥ Here the यु of युक् and त्युक् (Uṇ III. 21) are not replaced by अन; as भुज्युः and मृत्युः ॥ In the affixes above mentioned, the semi-vowel is not considered to have the nasal. There are no visible marks of nasality on any affixes, but the maxim is प्रतिज्ञानुनासिक्याः पाणिनीयाः ॥

The word युवोः is the Genitive Singular of युवु considered as a single word, i. e. a Samâhâra Dvandva compound in the singular, and such compounds are always neuter (II. 4. 17), The Genitive Singular of युवु is therefore युवुनः the augment being added by VII. 1. 73. The anomalous form युवोः shows the existence of the maxim that a rule ordaining an augment is not universally valid (अनित्यमागमशासनम्) ॥ Or the युवु may be considered as masculine Dvandva, and then it proves the maxim that the gender need not be taught, the usage of the people settles the gender of a word (लिङ्गमशिष्यं, लोकाश्रयत्वाल्-लिङ्गस्य) ॥ If, however, युवू be considered an itaretara-yoga Dvandva compound, then its Genitive dual will be युव्वोः, one व् is elided as a Chhandas irregularity, or the ऊ is elided, and we have the युव् + ओः = युवोः an anomalous dual.

Kârikâ :—If युवू is taken as a *dual*, then there ought to be a semi-vowel (i.e. युष्मोः); if it is considered as Aggregate Singular, then it ought to be neuter, how is then युवोः masculine? (To this we answer), if it be taken as dual युवू, then there is elision of the वणादेश (i.e. व्); if it be taken as singular युवु, then the augment नुम् which comes in the Genitive Singular of Neuters, does not come here, proving that the rule of नुम् augment is Anitya (not of universal application). Or the word युवु is taken as masculine, because the Gender depends upon usage.

आयनेयीनीयियः फढखच्छघां प्रत्ययादीनाम् ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ आयन्-एय्-ईन् ईय्-इयः, फ-ढ-ख-छ-घाम्, प्रत्यय-आदीनाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आयन् एय् ईन् ईय् इय् इत्येते आदेशा भवन्ति यथासंख्यं फ ढ ख छ घ इत्येतेषां प्रत्ययादीनाम् ।

2. आयन्, for फ्, एय् for ढ्, ईन् for ख्, ईय् for छ्, and इय् for घ्, are substituted, when these consonants stand in the beginning of an affix.

Thus फक् (IV. 1. 99)=आयन, as नड+फक्=नाडायनः, चारायणः ॥ ढक् (IV. 1. 120)=एय as सौपर्णेयः, वैनतेयः ॥ ख (IV. 1. 139) ईन, as आढ्यकुलीनः, श्रोत्रियकुलीनः ॥ छ (IV. 2. 114)=ईय, as गार्गीयः, वात्सीयः ॥ घ (IV. 1. 138)=इय, as क्षत्रियः ॥

Why do we say 'of an *affix*'? Observe फक्कति, ढौकते, खनति, छिनत्ति and घूर्णते, where these consonants are in the beginning of a *root*. Why do we say 'in the beginning'? Observe उरुदघ्नम् जानुदघ्नम्, where घ is in the *middle* of the affix; and remains consequently unchanged.

These आयन &c, substitutions should be understood to have taken place at the very time the affixes फक् &c, are taught, and these substitutions being made, the rule of accent, which makes an affix acute on the first syllable, applies. Thus ख is not acute, but ई of ईन् substituted for it. Similarly in IV. 4. 117, the affix taught is घच् with an indicatory च्, showing that the final of the affix इयँ will be acute (VI. 1. 163), and not of घ, for घ would have been acute by the general rule affix.

In षमे ढः (Uṇ I. 99), शमेः ख (Uṇ I: 102), the affixes ढ and ख remain unchanged, and we have षण्ढः, and शंखः ॥ This is explained on the maxim of उणादयो बहुलम् (III. 3. 1). In the sûtra ऋतेरीयङ् (III. 1. 29), the affix ईयङ् has been taught and not छङ्, this shows that the rule of substitution herein taught does not apply to the affixes to be added to the verbal roots. Thus एजेः खश् (III. 2. 28), पदरुजविशस्पृशो घञ् (III. 3. 16). Here the ख and घ are not be replaced by ईन and इय ॥ In fact, they cannot be regarded as affixes, but only as इत् or servile letters. By I. 3. 8, the gutturals are इत् except in Taddhita: therefore, the substitutions take place in Taddhita affixes, where the ख and घ are not इत् ॥

The final न् in आयन् and ईन् should not, however, be considered as servile (इत्) though they be final consonants. This we infer from the sûtra

प्राचामवृद्धात् फिन् बहुलम् ॥ Here the न् of फिन् is indicatory, showing the position of the accent. But फ is replaced by आयन्, so if the न् of आयन् were also to be indicatory (इत्) there would have been no necessity of adding न् in फिन् ॥ Hence the fact of this न् in फिन् shows that the न् in आयन् and इन् are not इत् ॥

झो ऽन्तः ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ झः, अन्तः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रत्ययावयवस्य झस्य अन्त इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

3. अन्त् is substituted for the झ of an affix.

The word प्रत्यय is understood here, but not so the word आदिः ॥ Thus झि becomes अन्ति and झ becomes अन्त (III. 4. 78). As कुर्वन्ति, सुन्वन्ति and चिन्वन्ति, so also शयान्ते, the लेट् of शीङ् ॥ Thus शी + लेट् = शी + शप् + आट् + झ (III. 4. 54) = शी + शप् + आ + झे (III. 4. 79) = शी + शप् + आ + झे (III. 4 96) = शी + शप् + आ + अन्ते (VII. 1. 3) = शी + आ + अन्ते = शयान्ते (after guna): as अत्र इवो विजगिष्यमाणाः पतिभिः सह शयान्ते ॥ So also in the Uṇadi affix झच् (Uṇ III. 126): as जॄ + झच् = जरन्तः, वेशन्तः ॥ This substitution does not take place when झ is not part of an affix: as उज्झिता, उज्झितुम्, उज्झितव्यम् ॥ Here also the accent falls on the substitute, according as it is चित् or otherwise. Thus the substitute अन्त of झ is first-acute by the rule III. 1. 3; but the substitute अन्तं of झच् is final acute because of the indicatory च (VI. 1. 163) ॥

अदभ्यस्तात् ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अत्, अभ्यस्तात्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभ्यस्तादङ्गादुत्तरस्य झकारस्य अदित्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

4. अत् is substitute for झ after a reduplicated verbal stem.

As ददति, ददतु, दधति, दधतु; जक्षति, जक्षतु; जाग्रति, जाग्रतु ॥ This अत् is replaced by जुस्, as अददुः, अदधुः ॥ Here also the accent will be on the firstsyllable of the substitute. Thus अति, अत, अते, अतु, अताम् in the subsequent sûtras. The accent of the reduplicates, however, is governed by VI. 1. 189, (अभ्यस्तानामादिः) ॥

आत्मनेपदेष्वनतः ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आत्मनेपदेषु, अ नतः, (अत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आत्मनेपदेषु यो झकारस्तस्यानकारान्तादङ्गादुत्तरस्यादित्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

5. अत् is always substituted for the झ in the Atmanepada, when it is not preceded by a verbal stem ending in अ ॥

Thus चिन्वते, चिन्वताम्, अचिन्वत; लुनते, लुनताम्, अलुनत ॥ Why in the Atmanepada? Observe चिन्वन्ति, लुनन्ति ॥ Why "when not preceded by an अ"? Observe च्यवन्ते, प्लवन्ते, in which, though the roots are च्यु and प्लु, they assume the form च्यव and प्लव when the Vikarana शप् is added; the vikaraṇa is added *first*, because it is nitya; and then the substitution of अन्त or अत for झ, as the case may be. The word अनतः qualifies झ, the झ should be *immediately* preceded by a stem ending in a non-अ; if some other letter intervenes, the rule will not apply. Thus from शी—शयान्ते, here between शी and झ, intervenes the augment आट्, therefore झ is not preceded by a stem ending in non अ, but by आट् ॥

शीङो रुट् ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ शीङः, रुट् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ शीङोऽङ्गादुत्तरस्य झादेशस्यातो रुडागमो भवति ॥

6. The अत् substitute of झ्, gets the augment रुट्, after the root शी ॥

Thus शेरते, शेरताम्, अशेरत ॥ The augment र् is added at the beginning of the affix, making अत्=रत् ॥ Had this र् been an augment of झ, then like the आट् augment in शयान्तै, it would have intervened between the शी and झ, and झ not immediately following a non-अ stem, अत् would not have been substituted for झ at all. Therefore रुट् is made the augment of the *substitute* अत, and not of झ ॥ The root शी is read in the sûtra with its anubandha ङ् in order to indicate, that there is no रुट् augment when there is elision of the Intensive affix यङ्, nor any Guṇa. As व्यति शेश्यते ॥

It is a general rule that an operation applying to a root which is exhibited with an anubandha, will not apply to the same root in its Intensive-yañ-luk form. The following verse shows when operations applying to simple roots will not apply to their Intensive forms :—

श्तिपा शपानुबन्धेन निर्दिष्टं यद्गणेन च ।
यत्रैकाज्ग्रहणं चैव पंचैतानि न यङ्लुकि ॥

"These five sorts of operations will not apply to Intensive-yañ-luk forms : 1. When the simple root is exhibited in the sûtra with श्तिप् as भू in VII. 4. 73 is shown as भवति ॥ In Intensive, the perfect will be बोभवाम्चकार and not बभवाम्चकार ॥ 2. Where the root is exhibited with शप्, as the root भृ in VII. 2. 49 is shown as भर ॥ There is इट् after the Desiderative of simple root but not in Intensive. 3. When a simple root is exhibited with an anubhandha, as शीङ् here. 4. Where a gaṇa is mentioned in a rule, as श्यन् is taught after Divâdi-roots (III. 1. 69). It will apply to simple roots of Divâdi gaṅa, and not to their Intensive. 5. Lastly, where the word एकाच् is used in a sûtra. As VII. 2. 10. That rule will apply to एकाच् simple roots and not to their Intensives.

वेत्तेर्विभाषा ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ वेत्तेः, विभाषा ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ वेत्तेरङ्गादुत्तरस्य झादेशस्यातो विभाषा रुडागमो भवति ॥

7. The अत् substitute of झ optionally gets the augment रुट् after the verbal stem विद् (वेत्ति) ॥

As संविद्रते or संविद्ते ; संविद्रताम् or संविद्ताम् ; समविद्रत or समविद्त ॥ The विद् is the Adâdi root here, and does not apply to विन्ते, विन्दाते, विन्दते, which belongs to the Rudhâdi class (विद विचारणे) ॥

There is no augment in यङ्लुक् here also, as व्यतिवेविद्ते ॥

बहुलं छन्दसि ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुलम्, छन्दसि, (रुट्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये बहुलं रुडागमो भवति ॥

8. The augment रुट् is diversely applied in the Veda.

Thus देवा अदुह्र ; गन्धर्वा अप्सरसो अदुह्र ॥ Here अदुह्र is the Imperfect (लङ्) plural of दुह् ॥ Thus दुह्+झ = दुह्+रत् = अदुह्र, the त् being elided by VII. 1. 41. Sometimes, the augment does not take place, as अदुहत ॥ Owing to the word बहुल, 'diversely', the augment र is added to other affixes also, than झ ॥ As अदृश्रम् in अदृश्रमस्य केतवः ॥ This is the aorist in अङ् of the root दृश by III. 1. 57, the guṇa ordained by VII. 4. 16, does not '*diversely*' take place.

अतो भिस ऐस् ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अतः, भिसः, ऐस् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अकारान्तादङ्गादुत्तरस्य भिस ऐसित्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

Kârikâ ॥ एत्वं भिसि परत्वाच्चेदत ऐस्क्व भविष्यति । कृतेऽप्येत्वे भौतपूर्व्यादैस्तु नित्यस्तथा सति ॥

9. After a nominal stem ending in अ, ऐस् is substituted for the case-ending भिस् ॥

As वृक्षैः, प्लक्षैः, अतिजरसैः ॥ Why do we say ending in अ? Observe अग्निभिः, वायुभिः ॥ Why '*short* अ' ? Observe खट्वाभिः, मालाभिः ॥ The adhikâra of "अतः" ('after a short अ'), extends up to VII. 1. 17.

The form अतिजरसैः illustrates some important principles of grammar. अति + जरा = (जरामतिक्रान्तः) अतिजर (अ being shortened by I. 2. 48). The word अतिजर ends in अ, and therefore forms its Ins. pl. by ऐस् ॥ Thus अतिजर + ऐस् ॥ Now we apply VII. 2. 101, which says for जरा is substituted जरस् before vowel-beginning case-endings. It should not be objected, that the substitution is ordained for जरा and not जर; for the maxim एकदेशविकृतमनन्यवद् भवति (a tail-less dog is still a dog) applies here. Having made this substitution, we get अतिजरसैः॥ Nor should you object that it was the अ of जर which had given occasion to the existence of ऐस्, and that अ should not be destroyed, on the maxim संनिपातलक्षणो विधिरनिमित्तं तद् विघातस्य, for this maxim is not universal, as Pâṇini himself shows in employing the form कष्टाय (III. 1. 14), in which ए of the Dative is changed into य by VII. 1. 13, and then this very य causes the destruction of अ and makes it आ (See VII. 1. 13 also).

Kârikâ :—If there be substitution of ए for the final अ before the affix भिस् by the subsequent sûtra VII. 3. 103, where will then the present sûtra, causing the substitution of ऐस् for भिस् after stems ending in अ, find its scope, (because there will be no stem left ending in अ)? If even after changing अ into ए, you change the भिस् into ऐस्, because the ए was once अ (भौतपूर्व्यात्); then the rule of changing भिस् into ऐस् becomes a nitya rule, because it takes effect even after the application of rule VII. 3. 103, and being nitya it debars that rule. Thus वृक्ष + भिस् ॥ Here the subsequent rule VII. 3. 103, requires the अ to be changed into ए ॥ Thus वृक्षे + भिः Now the present rule cannot apply because there is no अदन्त stem. However, if considering that वृक्षे once

was भवन्त, we change भिः to ऐस् then the rule becomes a *nitya* rule. In fact, it is a nitya rule and debars the application of VII. 3. 103, within its jurisdiction, VII. 3. 103, finds its scope in वृक्ष + सु = वृक्षेषु ॥

बहुलं छन्दसि ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुलम्, छन्दसि, (ऐस्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये बहुलमैसादेशो भवति ॥

10. In the Veda the substitution takes place diversely.

That is ऐस् is substituted for भिस् even after stems which do not end in short अ; as नद्यैः; and some times the substitution does not take place even after stems ending in short अ, as, देवेभिः सर्वेभिः सोमकम् ॥ देवो देवेभिरागमत् (Rig Veda I. 1. 4).

नेदमदसोरकोः ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, इदम्, अदसोः, अ, कोः, (भिस ऐस्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ इदम् अदस् इत्येतयोरककारयोर्भिस ऐस भवति ॥

11. This substitution of ऐस् does not take place after इदम् and अदस्, except when they end in क ॥

As एभिः, अमीभिः, but इमकैः, अमुकैः ॥ By VII. 2. 102, अ is substiuted for the final of इदम्, as इद + अ = इद (VI. 1. 97). By VII. 2. 113, the इद् is elided before भिस्, and the only portion left is अ, which becomes ए according to VII. 3. 103. For the final of अदस् is simlarly by VII. 2. 102, अ substituted, and अद + अ = अद (VI. 1. 97), and according to our present sûtra, the form in Ins.pl. would be अदेभिः, but द् is changed to म by VIII. 2. 80, and ए to ई by VIII. 2. 81.

The exception made with regard to these forms ending in क, shows the existence of the following maxim : तदेकदेशविकृतमनन्यवत्... तन्मध्यपतितस्तद्ग्रहणेन गृह्यते "Any term that may be employed in Grammar denotes not merely what is actually denoted by it, but it denotes also whatever word-form may result when something is inserted in that which is actually denoted by it."

The sûtra has not been made as इदमदसोः कात्, for had it been so constructed the rule would have applied to the क ending इदम् and अदस् and to no other क ending pronoun, and we could not get the forms सर्वकैः, विश्वकैः ॥ Moreover such a construction would have made ऐस् applicable to इदम् and अदस् also in their simple states : i. e. we could not have got the forms एभिः or अमीभिः ॥ Therefore the negative construction न अकोः is used in sutra in order to prevent the rule of contrariety.

टाङसिङसामिनात्स्याः ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ टा, ङसि, ङसाम्, इन, आत्, स्याः, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अकारान्तादङ्गादुत्तरेषां टाङसिङसाम् इन आत् स्य इत्येते आदेशा भवन्ति यथासंख्यम् ॥

12. After a stem ending in अ, are substituted इन for the Instrumental ending; आ आत् for the Ablative ending अस्, and स्य for the Genitive ending अस् ॥

Thus वृक्षेण and प्लक्षेण; वृक्षात् and प्लक्षात्; and वृक्षस्य and प्लक्षस्य ॥ After stems not ending in अ we have the original ending, as पत्या, सख्या ॥ Some

would have the forms अतिजरसिन and अतिजरसात् from अतिजर ॥ This is on the analogy of अतिजरसैः [See Sûtra 9 *ante*]. Thus अति + जरा = अतिजर (I. 2. 48). Then by VII. 2. 101, जरस् is substituted for जर before the vowel-affixes. These forms are not supported however by Patanjali. According to him the forms will be either अतिजरेण, अतिजरात्, or अतिजरसा and अतिजरसः but never अतिजरसिन and अतिजरसात् ॥

ङेर्यः ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ङेः, यः, (अतः अङ्गस्य) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ङेरिति चतुर्थ्येकवचनस्य ग्रहणम् अकारान्तादङ्गादुत्तरस्य ङे इत्येतस्य य इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

13. After a stem ending in अ, there is substituted य for the Dative ending ए ॥

Thus वृक्षाय, प्लक्षाय, the अ is lengthended by VII. 3. 102, in spite of the maxim संनिपातलक्षणो विधि रनिमित्तम् तद्विघातस्य ॥ "That which is taught in a rule the application of which is occasioned by the combination of two things, does not become the cause of the destruction of that combination". Thus य is substituted here, because the preceding word ends in a short अ, thus this short अ occasioned the existence of य, therefore this य cannot occasion the destruction of अ ॥ But that however it does, for it is on account of this य, that the preceding अ is replaced by आ ॥

The ङेः is the anomalous genitive case of the Dative ending ङे; this affix is exhibited without any vibhakti in VII. 1. 28. The ङेः should not be taken as the Genitive singular of ङि the affix of the Locative singular.

सर्वनाम्नः स्मै ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ सर्वनाम्नः, स्मै, (अतः ङे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अकारान्तात्सर्वनाम्न उत्तरस्य ङेः स्मै इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

14. After a Pronominal stem ending in अ, स्मै is substituted for the ए of the Dative.

As सर्वस्मै, विश्वस्मै, यस्मै, कस्मै, तस्मै ॥ But भवते where the Pronoun does not end in अ ॥ When अश् is substituted for इदम् (II. 4. 32) in anvâdeśa sentences, then we have the form अस्मै ॥ But in अत्र इदम् + ङे = अत्र अ + ए = अत्रा + ए, here the preceding word ends in आ and we could not have ए replaced by स्मै ॥ Therefore we infer that स्मै being an antaranga operation should be substituted first, and the sandhi afterward and we get अत्रास्मै ॥ (See VII. 2. 102 for the change of यद्, तद् &c into य, त &c). The change of ए into स्मै is antaranga as it depends upon one word, while the एकादेश long आ is bahiranga because it is an operation depending upon two words.

ङसिङ्योः स्मात्स्मिनौ ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ ङसि, ङ्योः, स्मात्, स्मिनौ, (अतः सर्वनाम्नः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ङसि ङि इत्येतयोरकारान्तात्सर्वनाम्न उत्तरयोः स्मात् स्मिन् इत्येतावादेशौ भवतः ॥

15. After a Pronominal stem ending in अ, स्मात्

is substituted for the Ablative ending अस् and स्मिन् for the Locative ending इ ॥

Thus सर्वस्मात्, विश्वस्मात्, यस्मात्, तस्मात् and कस्मात् ॥ सर्वस्मिन्, विश्वस्मिन् यस्मिन्, तस्मिन् and अन्यस्मिन् ॥ But भवतः and भवति from भवत् ending in a non-अ, and वृक्षात् and वृक्षे in non-pronouns. See VII. 2. 102 for यद् तद् &c.

पूर्वादिभ्यो नवभ्यो वा ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूर्व-आदिभ्यः, नवभ्यः, वा, (सर्वनाम्नः ङसिङ्योः स्मात् स्मिनौ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वादिभ्यो नवभ्यः सर्वनाम्न उत्तरयोर्ङसिङ्योः स्मात् स्मिन् इत्येतावादेशौ वा भवतः ॥

16. स्मात् and स्मिन् are optionally substituted for the Ablative and Locative endings, after पूर्व and the eight that follow it (I. 1. 34).

Thus पूर्वस्मात् or पूर्वात्, पूर्वस्मिन् or पूर्वे, परस्मात् or परात्, परस्मिन् or परे, अवरस्मात्, or अवरात्, अवरस्मिन् or अवरे, दक्षिणस्मात् or दक्षिणात्, दक्षिणस्मिन् or दक्षिणे, उत्तरस्मात्, or उत्तरात्, उत्तरस्मिन्, or उत्तरे, अपरस्मात्, or अपरात्, अपरस्मिन्, or अपरे, अधरस्मात्, or अधरात्, अधरस्मिन्, or अधरे, स्वस्मात्, or स्वात्, स्वस्मिन् or स्वे, अन्तरस्मात् or अन्तरात्, अन्तरस्मिन् or अन्तरे ॥ नवभ्य इति किम्, त्यस्मात्, त्यस्मिन् ॥

Why do we say 'nine only'? Observe त्यस्मात् and त्यस्मिन्, no option is allowed here.

जसः शी ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ जसः, शी, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अकारान्तात्सर्वनाम्न उत्तरस्य जसः शीत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

17. After a Pronominal stem ending in अ, ई is substituted for the nominative plural अस् ॥

Thus सर्वे (सर्व+ई), विश्वे, ये, के, ते ॥ Though सर्व+इ would have also given सर्वे, the long ई is taken for the sake of subsequent sûtras, in forming त्रपुणी, जतुनी ॥

औङ आपः ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ औङः, आपः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आबन्तादङ्गादुत्तरस्यौङः शीत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

Kârikâ—औकारोयं शीविधौ ङिद्गृहीतो ङित्वास्माकं नास्ति कोयं प्रकारः ।
सामान्यार्थस्तस्य चासंजनेस्मिन्ङित्कार्यं ते स्यां प्रसक्तं स दोषः ॥
ङित्वे विद्याद्वर्णनिर्देशमात्रं वर्णे यत्स्यात्तच्च विद्यात्तदादौ ।
वर्णश्चायं तेन ङित्वेप्यदोषो निर्देशोयं पूर्वसूत्रेण वा स्यात् ॥

18. After a stem ending in the feminine affix आ, ई is substituted for the dual endings औ of the Nominative and Accusative.

Thus खट्वे तिष्ठतः, खट्वे पश्य, बहुराजे (IV. 1. 13), कारीषगन्ध्ये ॥ The ङ् in औङ् is for the purposes of included औट् also. There is, in fact, no such affix as औङ् taught by Pâṇini any where. The following Karika raises this question and certain doubts in the first verse and then answers them in the second.

Kârikâ :—In this rule about शी, the letter औ has been enunciated with an indicatory ङ; but we have no औ with a ङ, taught any where. What sort of sûtra construction is this? If you say, the use of ङ is to form a common term for the two affixes औ and औट्, then by so doing, ङित् operations must be performed with regard to this शी of yours, and this is an error. [शी replacing ङित् औङ् will be considered as ङित्, and being ङित्, it will take the augment याट् by VII. 3, 113: and the form will be खट्वाये and not खट्वे] ॥

Ans :—The ङ should be considered here as merely indicating the letter औ, and as not an इत्, so that whatever will apply to the letter औ will apply to any form beginning with it, by the maxim यस्मिन् विधि तदादावल् ग्रहणे ॥ Or औङ् may be considered as merely the letter औ and not any particular *affix*, and ङ is added only for the sake of facility of pronounciation, like ट् in ऋकारप्र औ being merely a letter, will include all affixes having the letter औ as their significant part: and thus the औङ् not being a ङित् affix the rule VII. 3. 113, will not apply: and so there is no anomaly. Or the form औङ् may be considered as the affix of the dual, for Nominative and Accusative in the terminology of Ancient Grammarians, and will not produce ङित् effects, because the anubandhas of the Ancients do not produce their effects in this Grammar of Pâṇini: i.e. the rules regarding anubandhas made by Pâṇini refer to the anubandhas made by him and not by older authors.

नपुंसकाच्च ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ नपुंसकात्, च (औङः शी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नपुंसकादङ्गादुत्तरस्य औङः शी इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ ङ्यां प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

19. After a neutral stem, ई is substituted for the nom. and acc. dual औ ॥

Thus कुण्डे: तिष्ठतः, कुण्डे पश्य ॥ कुण्ड+ई=कुण्डे, the अ of कुण्ड required to be elided by VI. 4. 148. This is, however, not done by the following

Vârt :—Prohibition should be stated in the case of the affix शी ॥ Therefore the अ is not elided.

Similarly दधिनी, मधुनी, त्रपुणी, जतुनी ॥ The augment नुम् is added by VII. 1. 73.

जश्शसोः शिः ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ जस्, शसोः, शिः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नपुंसकादङ्गादुत्तरयोर्जश्शसोः शि इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

20. After a neutral stem, इ is substituted for the endings of the Nominative and Accusative Plural (जस् and शस्) ॥

Thus कुण्डानि तिष्ठन्ति, कुण्डानि पश्य, दधीनि, मधूनि, त्रपूणि, जतूनि ॥ The augment नुम् is by VII. 1. 72, The word शस् in the sûtra being read along with जस

denotes the Accusative Plural ending शस् and not the Taddhita affix शस् (V. 4. 43); as कुण्डशो ददाति, वनशः प्रविशति ॥

अष्टाभ्य औश् ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अष्टाभ्यः, औश्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अष्टाभ्य इति कृताकारोऽष्टशब्दो गृह्यते तस्मादुत्तरयोर्जश्शसोरौशित्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

21. After the stem अष्टा (the form assumed by अष्टन् VII. 2. 84), औश् is substituted for the endings of the Nominative and Accusative Plural.

As अष्टौ तिष्ठन्ति, अष्टौ पश्य ॥ Why have we taken the form अष्टा and not अष्ट? Observe अष्ट तिष्ठन्ति, अष्ट पश्य ॥ This peculiar construction of the present sûtra (अष्टाभ्यः instead of अष्टनः) indicates, that the आ substitution for the न् of अष्टन् is optional. This sûtra is, moreover, an exception by anticipation, to the following sûtra, by which the plural Nom. and Acc. endings are elided after the numerals called षष् ॥ The elision of case-endings taught by II. 4. 71, is not, however, barred by this rule; the elision taught therein will take place, whether this rule applies or not. Thus अष्टपुत्रः, अष्टभार्यः ॥

The present rule applies even when अष्ट is at the end of a compound, as परमाष्टौ, उत्तमाष्टौ ॥ But in प्रियाष्टानः, औ does not come, as अष्टन् has not assumed the form अष्टा here i. e. it has not lost its न् ॥

षड्भ्यो लुक् ॥ २२ ॥ षड्भ्यः, लुक्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ षट्संज्ञकेभ्य उत्तरयोर्जश्शसोर्लुग्भवति ॥

22. The Nom. and Acc. Plural endings are elided after the Numerals called षष् (I. 1. 24).

As षट् तिष्ठन्ति, षट् पश्य, पञ्च, सप्त, नव, दश ॥ The rule applies even to compounds ending with 'shash' words: as परमषट्, उत्तमषट्, but the 'shash' should be the principal; if it is only a secondary member of the compound, the rule will not apply: as प्रियषषः, प्रियपञ्चानः ॥ For the elision of न् see VIII. 2. 7.

स्वमोर्नपुंसकात् ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ सु, अमोः, नपुंसकात्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सु अम् इत्येतयोर्नपुंसकादुत्तरयोर्लुग्भवति ॥

23. The nom. and acc. singular case-endings सु and अम् are elided after a Neutral stem.

As दधि तिष्ठति, दधि पश्य, मधु तिष्ठति, मधु पश्य ॥ So also त्रपु and जतु ॥ In तद् ब्राह्मणकुलम् the word तद् has lost its nom. sing. ending by this rule, which has thus superseded the subsequent rule VII. 2. 102, by anticipation, by which अ replaces the final द् of तद् ॥ Or this *luk* rule of the present sûtra is a Nitya rule compared with VII. 2. 102. How can this be a nitya rule when it is set aside by the next rule अतोऽम् ॥ We still call this rule nitya, on the maxim

यस्य च लक्षणान्तरेण निमित्तं विहन्यते न तदनित्यम् "(an operation) the cause of which would, (after the taking effect of another operation that applies simultaneously), be removed by another (third rule), is not, (on that account regarded as) not nitya". For here the cause which is luk-elision, is removed by the following aphorism अतोऽम् which ordains an अम् instead of *luk*, and not by VII. 2. 102. For the application of rule VII. 2. 102, the necessary condition is that a case-affix should follow तद् &c. But when the case-affix itself is luk-elided, the substitution taught in that sûtra cannot take place.

अतो ऽम् ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अतः, अम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अकारान्तान्नपुंसकादुत्तरयोः स्वमोरमित्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

24. After a Neutral stem in अ, अम् is substituted for सु and अम the endings of the nom. and acc. sing.

As कुण्डं तिष्ठति, कुण्डं पश्य ॥ So also वनम्, पीठम् ॥ Why do we not say "म् is substituted'? कुण्ड+म=कुण्डाम्, thus there would be lengthening if only म् was taught (VII. 3. 101), while कुण्ड+अम्=कुण्डम् (the single substitution of the form of the antecedent by VI. 1. 107).

अद्डु डतरादिभ्यः पञ्चभ्यः ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अद्डु, डतरा दिभ्यः, पञ्चभ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ डतरादिभ्यः परयोः स्वमोरद्डु इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

Kârikâ अपृक्तश्चेदमो दोषो निवृत्ते डतरादिषु । अद्डित्त्वाड्डतरादीनां न लोपो नापि दीर्घता ॥

25. अद्डु is substituted for the Nom. and Acc. singular endings सु and अम after the five Pronouns डतर &c. (i. e. the stems formed with the affixes 1. डतर, and 2. डतम, and the stems 3. इतर, 4. अन्य and 5. अन्यतर).

These are the five pronouns, which in the list of Sarvanâmans are read together (See I. 1. 27) :—डतर, डतम, इतर, अन्य and अन्यतर ॥ Thus कतर+अद्डु=कतरत् (the अ of katara elided by ड्): as कतरत् तिष्ठन्ति, कतरत् पश्य ॥ So also कतमत्, इतरत्, अन्यतरत् and अन्यत् ॥ Why after these five only? Observe नेमं तिष्ठन्ति, नेमं पश्य ॥ Why do we make the affix have an indicatory ड्? In order to prevent the lengthening of the vowel in the nominative singular: as कतर+अत्=कतरात् by VI. 1. 102. In the case of the accusative, अत् being the substitute of अम् will be sthânivat, and give us कतरत् by VI. 1. 107 even without ड् ॥ Why not make the affix merely त् and not अद्डु; it would give कतरत् &c without the application of any rule of Sandhi? The simple त् would not give us the Vocative हे कतरत्, The final would have' been elided in the Vocative, as being an apṛikta. See however VI. 1. 69.

Kârikâ :—If in the sûtra VI. 1. 69, there is the anuvṛitti of the word 'apṛkta', then there is fault with regard to अम् (i. e. the vocative of members in अम् will not be elided, हे कुण्डम् will be the form required and not हे कुण्ड) ; if

however, the anuvṛitti of apṛkta ceases, there will be anomaly with regard to pronouns कतरत् &c (i. e. we shall not have the form हे कतरत् but हे कतर) Therefore, by reading the affix अत् with an indicatory ड् i. e reading it as अदुड्, we get out of this dilemma, and so there is not the elision of अत् in कतरत् &c in the vocative ; nor is there lengthening of the vowel (कतरात्, which would have been the form had there been no ड्).

नेतराच्छन्दसि ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, इतरात्, छन्दसि, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इतरशब्दादुत्तरयोः स्वमोश्छन्दसि विषये अदुडादेशो न भवति ॥

26. In the Veda, अत् (or अद्) is not the substitute of सु and अम् Nom. and Acc. Sg. endings, after इतर ॥

As इतरमितरमण्डमजायत ; वार्त्रघ्नमितरम् ॥ Why in the Vedas? See इतरत् काष्ठम्, इतरत् कुड्यम् ॥ Had this sûtra been placed immediately after अतोऽम् (VII. 1. 24), we could have made it simpler by saying इतराच्छन्दसि ; the present position of the sûtra indicates that we should divide it into two, to include other cases. In the case of एकतर, the अदुड् substitution does not take place, either in the Veda or in the Common Language. As एकतरं तिष्ठति, एकतरं पश्य ॥

युष्मदस्मद्भ्यां ङसो ऽश् ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ युष्मदस्मद्भ्याम्, ङसः, अश् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ युष्मदस्मदित्येताभ्यामुत्तरस्य ङसो ऽशित्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

27. अश् (I. 1. 55), is substituted for the Genitive ending अस्, after युष्मद् and अस्मद् ॥

Thus तव and मम ॥ The indicatory श् of अश् shows that by I. 1. 55, the *whole* of the affix अस् is to be replaced : otherwise it would have replaced only the first letter of the affix ; and the affix not being a substitute-affix, rule VII. 2. 89, would not be applicable to it. The तव is substituted for युष्मद्, and मम for अस्मद् by VII. 2. 96 ; and तव + अ (अश्), and मम + अ = तव and मम by VI. 1. 97.

ङे प्रथमयोरम् ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ ङे, प्रथमयोः, अम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ङे इत्यविभक्तिको निर्देशः ङे इत्येतस्य प्रथमयोश्च विभक्त्योः प्रथमाद्वितीययोर्युष्मदस्मद्भ्यामुत्तरयोरमित्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

28. अम् is substituted for the Dative ending ए and for the endings of the nom. and acc. in all numbers, after the stems युष्मद् and अस्मद् ॥

The ङे the ending of the Dative is exibited anomalously in the sûtra without any case ending (compare VII. 1. 13, ङेः) प्रथमयोः means 'of the first and second cases.' Thus युष्मद् + ङे = तुभ्यद् + ङे (VII. 2. 95) = तुभ्य + ङे (VII. 1. 102) = तुभ्य + अम् (VII. 1. 28) = तुभ्यम् (VI. 1. 107 or 97) ; similarly मह्यम् ॥ So also युष्मद् + सु = त्वद् + सु (VII. 2. 94) = त्व + सु (VII. 2. 94) = त्व + सु (VII. 2. 102) = त्व + अम

(VII. 1. 28)=त्वम् (VI. 1. 97 or 107). Similarly अहम् ॥ So also युवाम् and आवाम् by VII. 2. 92 and VI. 2. 88; यूयम् and वयम् by VII. 2. 93 and VI. 1. 97 or 107, त्वाम् and माम् by VII. 2. 97 and VII. 2. 87; and युवाम् and आवाम् as before.

शसो न ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ शसः, न, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ युष्मदस्मद्भ्यामुत्तरस्य शसो नकारादेशो भवति ॥

29. न् is substituted for the स् of अस् the affix of the Accusative Plural after युष्मद् and अस्मद् ॥

As युष्मान् and अस्मान् (द् elided by VII. 2. 90, and lengthening by VII. 2. 87). युष्मान् ब्राह्मणान्। अस्मान् ब्राह्मणान्। युष्मान् ब्राह्मणीः। अस्मान् ब्राह्मणीः। युष्मान् कुलानि। अस्मान्कुलानि ॥

भ्यसो भ्यम् ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ भ्यसः, भ्यम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ युष्मदस्मद्भ्यामुत्तरस्य भ्यसो भ्यमित्ययमादेशो भवतिः ॥

30. अभ्यम् is substituted for the Dative भ्यस् after 'yushmad' and 'asmad.'

As युष्मभ्यम् and अस्मभ्यम् ॥ As the sûtra is constructed (भ्यसो भ्यम्) it is not easy to say whether the substitute is भ्यम् or अभ्यम् ॥ If it is भ्यम्, then we have two cases, (1) eliding the final द् of yushmad and asmad, by VII. 2. 90, and adding भ्यम् (2) eliding अद् of yushmad and asmad by VII. 2. 90, and adding भ्यम् ॥ It will be shown hereafter that VII. 2. 90, is capable of two explanations, one by which yushmad and asmad lose their द् only, and by another अद् ॥ Similarly with अभ्यम् we have also two cases: Thus we have four cases. as (1) yushma+bhyam, (2) yushm+bhyam, (3) yushma+abhyam, (4) yushm+abhyam. In the case of the first (yushma+bhyam) we can get the proper form, though it may be objected that yushma+bhyam should be equal to युष्मेभ्यम् by VII. 3. 103: this ए substitution will not take place, however, by force of the maxim अङ्गवृत्त पुनर्वृत्तावविधि र्निष्ठितस्य "when an operation which is taught in the angâdhikâra has taken place, and another operation of the angâdhikâra is subsequently applicable, this latter operation is not allowed to take place."

The second case is an impossibility, namely, yushm+bhyam can give us no form. The third case yushma+abhyam will give us the proper form युष्मभ्यम् (अ+अ=अ by VI. 1. 97). Moreover the accent also will be on the middle युष्मभ्यम् by VI. 1. 161, the udâtta अ of yushma being elided by the anudâtta अ of अभ्यम्, the acute will be on the anudâtta अ ॥ It should not be objected that in VI. I. 161, the word अन्त of VI. 1. 159 is understood, and the accent will be on the final. We have shown in that sûtra, that the udâtta will fall on the आदि (*beginning*) of the anudâtta term which causes the elisi n The fourth alternative yushm+abhyam is free from all objections.

पञ्चम्या अत् ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ पञ्चम्या, अत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पञ्चम्या भ्यसो युष्मदस्मद्भ्यामुत्तरस्य अदित्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

31. अत् is substituted for the Ablative भ्यस्, after युष्मद् and अस्मद् ॥

As युष्मत्, अस्मत् ॥ The द् is elided by VII. 2. 95, before the case ending भ्यस्, and युष्म + अत् = युष्मत् by VI. 1. 97.

एकवचनस्य च ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ एकवचनस्य, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पञ्चम्या एकवचनस्य युष्मदस्मद्भ्यामुत्तरस्यादित्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

32. This substitution of अत् is made in the singular number also of the ablative, after yushmad and asmad.

As त्वत् and मत् ॥ For the substitution of त्व and म see VII. 2. 97; and त्व and म + अत् = त्वत् and मत् by VI. 1. 97.

साम आकम् ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ सामः आकम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ साम इति षष्ठीबहुवचनमागतसुट्कं गृह्यते, तस्य युष्मदस्मद्भ्यामुत्तरस्याकमित्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

33. आकम् is substituted for the Genitive plural affix साम् (VII. 1. 52), after yushmad, and asmad.

साम् is the affix आम् of the Genitive plural with the augment स ॥ Thus युष्माकम् and अस्माकम् ॥ Why is it read साम् and not आम्. when there is no स् at the time when the substitution is ordained? It is read as साम् in order to indicate that आकम् will not get the augment स्, for otherwise 'yushma' and 'asma' having lost their 'd' by VII. 2. 90, end in अ, and so by VII. 1. 52, would cause the genitive affix to get the augment स; the present sûtra removes that also. The substitute is exhibited with a long आ, in order to make अ + आ = आ in युष्म + आकम्, had it been short अ, then there would have been no lengthening but अ + अ = अ by VI. 1. 97. If you say 'the very fact that अकम् was taught and not कम्, would prevent para-rûpa and cause lengthening'; we reply, that the अ of अकम् would find its scope in preventing ए substitution. For without अ, we should have युष्म + कम् = युष्मेकम् (VII. 3. 103).

आत औ णलः ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ आतः, औ, णलः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आकारान्तादङ्गादुत्तरस्य णल औकारादेशो भवति ॥

34. औ is substituted for णल्, the affix of the first and third person singular of the perfect, after roots ending in long आ ॥

Thus पपौ, तस्थौ, जग्लौ, मम्लौ, from पा, स्था, ग्लै (ग्ला) and म्लै (म्ला) ॥ The form पपौ is thus evolved, पा + णल् = पा + अ ॥ Here three operations simultaneously present themselves for application, namely; 1. Reduplication, 2. Leng-

thening; by the single substitution of one long vowel आ, for आ+अ; and 3. The substitution of औ for आ by the present sûtra. In what order should these operations be then performed? First the affix अ should be replaced by औ. then the single substitution of औ for आ+औ; and then treating it as sthânivat, and then reduplication. For if the single substitution of आ for आ+अ had taken place first, then there would be no scope for औ substitution, therefore the औ substitution, should take place first. Thus we have पा+औ =पौ; this vṛiddhi-ekâdeśa, is treated as sthânivat by I. 1. 59, and it causes reduplication. The vṛiddhi-ekâdeśa should first take place (i.e. आ+औ=औ) and then the reduplication, because the former rule is subsequent to the latter.

तुह्योस्तातङ्ङाशिष्यन्यतरस्याम ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तु, ह्योः, तातङ्, आशिषि, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तु हि इत्येतयोराशिषि विषये तातङादेशो भवत्यन्यतरस्याम् ॥

35. तातङ् is optionally substituted for the affixes तु and हि of the Imperative, when benediction is meant.

As जीवताद् भवान्, जीवतात् त्वम्, जीवतु भवान्, जीव त्वम ॥ The ङ् prevents Guṇa and Vṛiddhi, (I. 1. 4), and the substitute replaces the whole affix (I. 1. 53 notwithstanding). The substitute is not sthânivat पित्, though it replaces a पित् affix, because it has its own indicatory letter ङ्, and ङित् does not become पित्; and consequently in ब्रतात् ई is not added to the affix, by VII. 3. 93, ई being added only to पित् affixes after ब्रू ॥ When not denoting benediction, we have not this substitution: as ग्रामं गच्छतु भवान् or गच्छ ग्रामम् ॥

The affix तातङ् being a substitu e of हि, is like हि, and, therefore, rules propounded with regard to हि, will apply to तातङ also. Thus VI. 4. 105 says that after stems ending in short अ, the हि is elided: therefore, after such words तातङ् should also be elided. Therefore we cannot get the form जीवतात् त्वम् for जीवत्वम् ॥ This objection, however, is futile; for, in the sûtra अतो हे (VI. 4. 105), there is the anuvritti of हि from sûtra VI. 4. 101 (हु झल्भ्यो हेर्धिः) ॥ So that अतो हे should be construed as meaning "there is the elision of हि when it is of the form हि, and not when it assumes the form तातङ्" ॥

The object of ङ् in तातङ् is, as we have said above, for the sake of preventing Guṇa and Vṛiddhi. It should not be said that the object of ङ् in तातङ् is for the sake of अन्त्यविधिः by the application of sûtra ङिच्च (I. 1. 53), just as the substitutes अनङ् &c (VII. 1. 93 and 94) apply to the finals. For by so doing, तातङ् would replace only the उ of तु and the इ of हि, which is not desired. And the case of तातङ् is to be distinguished from अनङ्, for in अनङ् the ङ् has no other object but to prevent sarvâdeśa; but in तातङ् we see that ङ् has another object, namely, the prevention of Guṇa and Vṛiddhi; and ङ् having thus found scope, the तातङ् substitute will be governed by the general rule अनेकाल् शित् सर्वस्य (I. 1. 55).

The Kârikâ given below raises these points.

Kárikâ :—सातङि ङित्त्वं संक्रमकृत्स्यादन्त्यविधिश्चेत्तच तथा न ।
हेरधिकारे हेरधिकारो लोपविधौ तु ज्ञापकमाह ॥
सातङो ङित्त्वसामर्थ्यान्नायमन्त्यविधिः स्मृतः ।
न तद्वदनङादीनां तेन ते ऽन्त्यविकारजाः ॥

Kârikâ:—In सातङ् the ङ् is for the sake of preventing Guṇa and Vṛiddhi (संक्रम = गुणवृद्धिप्रतिषेधः) ॥ If it be said, it is for the sake of अन्त्यविधि by I. 1. 53; we say it is not so. (If you say that after roots ending in short अ, सात् should be elided, by VI. 4. 105 read with I. 1. 56, we reply): when the anuvṛtti or adhikâra of हि was already existent in the sûtra VI. 4. 105 from sṇtra VI. 4. 101, the express employment of हि in VI. 4. 105, indicates that the lopa rule does not apply to सातङ् ॥ (The lopa-rule not applying to सातङ्, it follows that it replaces the *whole* of हि and not only its final). The ङ् in सातङ् finds its scope in preventing Guṇa and Vriddhi, therefore, it is not for the sake of antya-vidhi (I. 1. 53). The ङित्त्व in अनङ् &c has no other scope, therefore, these substitutes replace the final only.

विदेः शतुर्वसुः ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ विदेः, शतुः, वसुः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विद ज्ञानइत्येतस्माद्धातोरुत्तरस्य शतुर्वसुरादेशो भवति ॥

36. वसु is substituted for the Present Participle affix शतृ after the root विद् 'to know'.

Thus विद्वस् (n. s. विद्वान्), विद्वांसौ, विद्वांसः ॥ The words formed with affixes having an indicatory उ or ऋ (उगित्) add a न् in their strong cases (VII. 1. 70), and form their feminine with unaccented ई ॥ शतृ is an affix having an indicatory ऋ, therefore its substitute would also be considered as having an indicatory ऋ, the उ of वसु therefore is not absolutely necessary for the purposes of उगित् operations. वसु is so written, in order that in the sûtra वसो संप्रसारणं (VI. 4. 131.), both क्वसु and वसु should be included. Nor can we object that in the above mentioned sûtra, वसु with one indicatory letter being taken, cannot include an affix like क्वसु having two indicatory letters,—on the maxim एकानुबन्धकग्रहणे न द्व्यनुबन्धकस्य—for if that were so, there was no necessity of उ in वसु ॥ Some read the anuvṛitti of the word optionally into this : and we have विदन्, विदन्तौ, विदन्तः formed with शतृ (see V. 4. 38).

समासे ऽनञ्पूर्वे क्त्वो ल्यप् ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ समासे, अनञ्, पूर्वे, क्त्वः ल्यप् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समासे ऽनञ्पूर्वे क्त्वा इत्येतस्य ल्यबित्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

37. In a compound, the first member of which is an Indeclinable but not नञ्; ल्यप् is substituted for क्त्वा ॥

Thus प्रकृत्य, प्रहृत्य ॥ The tvâ is added by III. 4. 21, the compounding is by II. 2. 18, and तुक् by VI. 1. 71.पार्श्वतःकृत्य, The tvâ is added by III. 4. 61. and compounding is by II. 2. 22. नानाकृत्य; द्विधाकृत्य The tvâ is added by III. 4. 62. Why do we say 'in a compound'? Observe कृत्वा हृत्वा. Here the counter exam-

ple is कृत्वा, which is preceded by an Indeclinable कृत्वा, but as it is not compounded, there is no substitution. Why do we say 'not preceded by नञ्'? Observe अकृत्वा, अहृत्वा, परमकृत्वा, उत्तमकृत्वा ॥ The word अनञ् means 'other than नञ्', and means words of the same class as नञ्, i. e. Indeclinables : and does not mean words which are not Indeclinables. The compounds like स्नात्वाकालक contained in the class of मयूरव्यंसक &c (II. 1. 72.), do not take ल्यप anomalously. Or the word समासे is in the Locative with the force of specification : and means those compounds which are specifically formed with क्त्वा and not any compound in general.

Now by the rule I. 1. 72, ktvâ would denote a form ending with ktvâ; and would include the case of a compound ending in ktvâ. But this general rule is modified by the maxim प्रत्यय ग्रहणे यस्मात् स विहित स्तदादेस्तदन्तस्य ग्रहणम् "an affix denotes, whenever it is employed in grammar, a word-form which begins with that to which that affix has been added and ends with the affix itself." But the affix ktvâ is never ordained after a compound. Therefore, the case of compounds ending in ktvâ, would not be covered by the mere employment of ktvâ. Then comes the maxim कृद् ग्रहणे गति कारक पूर्वस्यापि ग्रहणं 'a kṛit affix denotes whenever it is employed in grammar, a word-form which begins with that to which that kṛit affix has been added and which ends with the kṛit affix, but moreover should a gati, or a noun such as denotes a case-relation have been prefixed to that word-form, then the kṛit affix must denote the same word-form together with the gati or the noun which may have been prefixed to it." By this a compound also may end in ktvâ. This maxim will cover cases like प्रकृत्य; पार्श्वतः कृत्य but not उच्चैः कृत्य &c because उच्चैः is neither a gati nor a kâraka. Hence the employment of the word समासे in the sûtra, and also of the word अनञ्पूर्वे, for नञ् is neither a Gati nor a Kâraka.

In the case of प्रधाय and प्रस्थाय this maxim applies :—अन्तरङ्गानपि विधीन् बहिरङ्गो ल्यप् बाधते "a Bahiranga substitution of ल्यप् supersedes even antaranga rule". What are these antaranga rules superseded by the substitute ल्यप्? (1) हित्वं—the substitution of हि for धा (VII. 4. 42). Thus हित्वा but प्रधाय and not प्रहित्वा ॥ (2) दत्वं—the substitution of दद् for दो (VII. 4. 46)—as दत्वा, but प्रदाय and not प्रदत्वा ॥ (3) आत्वं as required by VI. 4. 42 : as खात्वा, प्रखाय and प्रखन्य ॥ (4) इत्वं—as स्थित्वा but प्रस्थाय ॥ (5) ईत्वं by VI. 4. 66, as पीत्वा but प्रपाय ॥ (6) दीर्घत्वं by VI. 4. 15, as शान्त्वा but प्रशम्य ॥ (7) शुट् by VI. 4. 19, as पृष्ट्वा but आपृच्छ्य ॥ (8) ऊट्—as द्यूत्वा ॥ (9) इट् (VII. 2. 56)—देवित्वा but प्रदीव्य ॥

क्त्वापि छन्दसि ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्त्वा, अपि, छन्दसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समासे ऽनञ्पूर्वे क्त्वा इत्येतस्य क्त्वा इत्ययमादेशो भवति अपिशब्दाल्ल्यबपि भवति छन्दसि विषये ॥

38. In the Veda the क्त्वा also, as well as ल्यप्, is substituted for क्त्वा, after an Indeclinable compound, other than one preceded by the Negative नञ् ॥

Thus कृष्णं वासो यजमानं परिधापयित्वा, प्रत्यञ्चमेकं प्रत्यर्पयित्वा ॥ So also we have ल्यप्, as उद्धृत्य जुहोति ॥ The sûtra could have been made shorter by saying merely वा छन्दसि; not doing so indicates that conditions and limitations are set aside in the Vedas in applying this affix. Therefore ल्यप् is applied even when there is no compound, as, अर्च्य तान् देवान् गतः ॥ The word छन्दसि governs the following sûtras upto VII. 1. 50, inclusive.

सुपां सुलुक्पूर्वसवर्णाच्छेयाडाड्यायाजालः ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुपाम्, सु, लुक्, पूर्वसवर्ण, आ, आत्, शे, या, डा, ड्या, याच्, आलः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छान्दसि विषये सुपां स्थाने सु लुक् पूर्वसवर्ण आ आत् शे या डाड्या याच् आल इत्येते आदेशा भवन्ति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ सुपां सुपो भवन्ति इति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ तिङां तिङो भवन्तीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ इयाडियाजीकाराणामुपसंख्यानम् ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ आङ्याजयारामुपसंख्यानम् ॥

39. The following irregular endings are substituted for the various case endings in the Veda: (1) सु of the Nom. Sg. for अस् of the Plural, (2) the *luk*-elision of the case-endings, (3) the single substitution of the homogeneous long vowel for the end vowel of the stem, (4) आ, (5) आत्, (6) ए (शे) for the ending of the Nom. Plural, (7) या, (8) आ (डा), with the elision of the last vowel and the consonant, if any, that follows it in the stem, (9) या (ड्या) with the similar shortening of the stem (10) याँ (याच्) and आ (accent of ल) ॥

Thus (1) अनृक्षरा ऋजवः सन्तु पन्थाः (for पन्थानः) Rig Veda X. 85. 23.

Vârt:—It should be stated that case-endings replace case-endings promiscuously, as, धुरि दक्षिणायाः (for दक्षिणायाम् Rig I. 164. 9).

Vârt:—One personal ending replaces another personal ending in the Vedas चषालं ये अश्वयूपाय तक्षति (for तक्षन्ति) Rig I. 162. 6.

(2) लुक्-elision:—As आर्द्रे चर्मन्, लोहिते चर्मन् for चर्मणि; हविर्धाने यत् सुन्वन्ति, तत् सामिधेनीरन्वाह (यद् for यस्मिन् and तद् for तस्मिन्) ॥

(3) Lengthening:—धीती, मती, सुष्टुती for धीत्या, मत्या and सुष्टुत्या ॥

(4) आ—उभा यन्तारौ (for उभौ) ॥

(5) आत्—न ताद् ब्राह्मणाद् निन्दामि for तान् ब्राह्मणान् ॥

(6) शे—न युष्मे (for यूयम्) वाजबन्धवः, Rig VIII. 68. 19. अस्मे (for वयं) इन्द्राबृहस्पती; Rig IV. 49. 4, the यूय and वय substitution has not taken place as a Vedic usage.

(7) या—उरुया, धृष्णुया for उरुणा and धृष्णुणा ॥

(8) डा—नाभा (for नाभौ) पृथिव्याः Rig I. 143. 4.

(9) ड्या—अनुष्ठ्या च्यावयतात् for अनुष्ठुभा Ait Br. II. 6. 15.

(10) याच्—साधुयाँ for साधु, there was required the elision of सु ॥

(11) आल्—वसन्ता यजेत for वसन्ते ॥

Vârt:—The following substitutes should also be enumerated, (*a*) इया, (*b*) डियाच् with elision of the final vowel and the consonant, if any, that follows it, and (*c*) long ई ॥ As (*a*) उर्विया परिधानम्, for उरुणा, so also दार्विया for दारुणा ॥ (*b*) सुक्षेत्रिया for सुक्षेत्रिणा, and सुगात्रिया for सुगात्रिणा ॥ (*c*) दृति न शुष्कं सरसी शयानम् for सरसि ॥

Vârt:—So also (*a*) आङ्, (*b*) अयाच् and (*c*) अयार्: as प्रबाहवा for प्रबाहुना, (*b*) स्वप्नया सच सेवनम् for स्वप्नेन, (*c*) सिन्धुमिव नावया for नावा ॥

The word आच्छे in the sûtra is compounded of three words आ + आत् + शे, the word आत् = आ + आत् ॥

अमो मश् ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ अमः, मश् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अम् इति मिबादेशो गृह्यते । तस्य छन्दसि विषये मशादेशो भवति ॥

40. For the Personal ending अम् of the First Person Singular (in the Aorist) म (I. 1. 55) is substituted in the Veda.

The अम् here is the substitution of मिप्, and not the accusative singular affix. As वधीं वृत्रम् (for अवधिषम्) Rig I. 165. 8: क्रमीम वृक्षस्य शाखाम् ॥ The अट् augment is diversely elided (VI. 4. 75). The indicatory श् of मश् shows that the *whole* of the affix अम् is to be replaced. The substitution of म् for म् is to prevent the change of म् into anusvâra as in VIII. 3. 25.

लोपस्त आत्मनेपदेषु ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ लोपः, त, आत्मनेपदेषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आत्मनेपदेषु यस्तकारस्तस्य छन्दसि विषये लोपो भवति ॥

41. In the Veda the त of the Atmanepada Personal ending is elided.

As देवा अदुह्र and गन्धर्वा अप्सरसो अदुह्र for अदुहत (see VII. 1. 8) ; दुहाम् (for दुग्धाम्) अश्विभ्यां पयो अघ्न्येयम् ॥ Rig I. 164. 27. दक्षिणतः शये for शेते ॥ Owing to the anuvṛitti of आपि from VII. 1. 38, this substitution sometimes does not take place; as: आत्मानमनृतंकुरुते ॥ Why in the Atmanepada? Observe वत्सं दुहन्ति कलशं चतुर्बिलम् ॥

ध्वमो ध्वात् ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ ध्वमः, ध्वात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये ध्वमो ध्वादित्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

42. In the Veda, ध्वात् is substituted for the Personal ending ध्वम् ॥

As अन्तरेवोष्माणं वारयध्वात् for वारयध्वम् ॥ Ait Br. II. 6. 14.

यजध्वैनमिति च ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ यजध्वैनम्, इति, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यजध्वमित्येतस्य एनमित्येतस्मिन्परतो मकारलोपो निपात्यते वकारस्य च यकारश्छन्दसि विषये ॥

43. यजध्वैनम् is irregularly formed in the Veda for यजध्वमेनम् ॥

The word यजध्वम् followed by एनम् loses its final म् in the Veda. As यजध्वैनं प्रियमेधाः (Rig VIII. 2. 37). The Kasika adds "that व is also irregularly

changed into य": the form would then be यजध्वैनम् ॥ This is, however, a mistake as pointed out by Bhattoji Dikshit.

तस्य तात् ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्य, तात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तशब्दस्य लोण्मध्यमपुरुषबहुवचनस्य स्थाने तादित्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

44. For the ending त of the 2nd Pers. Pl. Imperative is substituted तात् in the Veda.

As गात्रं गात्रमस्या नूनं कृणुतात् (for कृणुत), and ऊवध्ये गोहं पार्थिवं खनतात् (for खनत) Ait Br. II. 6. 15, 16. अस्मास्वे संगृजतात् (= संसृजत), सूर्यं चक्षुर्गमयतात् (= गमयत).

तप्तनप्तनथनाश्च ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तप्, तनप्, तन, थनाः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्येति वर्त्तते । छन्दसि विषये तस्य स्थाने तप् तनप् तन थन इत्येते आदेशा भवन्ति ॥

45. Also त and तन (before both, on account of the indicatory प् the preceding vowel of the verbal stem is strengthened, or if weak not shortened), तन and थन are substituted for the त of the 2nd Pers. Pl. Imperative in the Veda.

This शृणोत ग्रावाणः (for शृणुत), सुनोत (= सुनुत), संवरत्रा दधातन (for धत्त), जुजुष्टन (for जुषत) the ślu vikaraṇa being added as a Vedic irregularity; यविष्ठन for यविच्छत ॥ The indicatory प् makes तप् and तनप् non-ङित् affixes (I. 2. 4).

इदन्तो मसि ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ इदन्तः, मसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये मसित्ययं शब्द इकारान्तो भवति । मसः सकारान्तस्य इकारागमो भवति स च तस्यान्तो भवति ॥

46. The Personal ending मस् becomes in the Veda मसि ending with an इ ॥

Thus पुनस्त्वां दीपयामसि (for दीपयामः) शलभं भञ्जयामसि (for भञ्जयामः), त्वयि रात्रिं वासयामसि for वासयामः ॥

क्त्वो यक् ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्त्वः, यक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्त्वा इत्येतस्य यगागमो भवति छन्दसि विषये ॥

47. In the Veda, the Absolutive affix क्त्वा gets at the end, the augment य ॥

Thus दत्वाय सविता धियः (for दत्वा). This sûtra is not read immediately after VII. 1. 38, as in that sûtra, the anuvṛitti of samâsa is understood, while there is no such anuvṛitti here.

इष्ट्वीनमिति च ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ इष्ट्वीनम्, इति, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इष्ट्वीनमित्ययं शब्दो निपात्यते छन्दसि विषये । यजेः क्त्वाप्रत्ययान्तस्य ईनमादेशोऽन्त्यस्य निपात्यते ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ पीत्वीनमित्यपीष्यते ॥

48. In the Veda, the Absolutive इष्ट्वीनम् is irregularly formed for इष्ट्वा ॥

To the root यज् is added क्त्वा, and the final आ is replaced by ईनम् ॥ As इष्ट्वीनम् देवान् for इष्ट्वा देवान् ॥ The च in the sûtra indicates that there are other forms like this, as पीत्वीनम् for पीत्वा ॥

स्नात्व्यादयश्च ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्नात्वी-आदयः, च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ स्नात्वी इत्येवमादयः शब्दा निपात्यन्ते छन्दसि विषये ॥

49. स्नात्वी &c. are irregularly formed in the Veda.

Thus स्नात्वी मलादिव, for स्नात्वा ; पीत्वी सोमस्य वावृधे for पीत्वा ॥ The word आदि 'et cetera' means "of the form of", namely words having form like स्नात्वी, as पीत्वी &c.

आज्जसेरसुक् ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ आत्, जसेः, असुक् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अवर्णान्तादङ्गादुत्तरस्य जसेरसुगागमो भवति छन्दसि विषये ॥

50. After a stem ending in अ or आ, the affix अस् of the Nom. Pl. gets, in the Veda, the augment अस् (असुक्) at the end.

Thus ब्राह्मणासः पितरः सोम्यासः for ब्राह्मणाः and सोम्याः ॥ Rig VI. 75. 10. ये पूर्वासो य उपरासः (Rig X. 15. 2) for पूर्वे and उपरे ॥ So also पुतास: (R. I. 3. 4) Why is not, after the adding of the augment असुक्, the जस् changed to शी in the last example, as required by VII. 1. 17, and on the maxim पुनः प्रसङ्गः विज्ञानात् ? No, the maxim that applies here is सकृद् गतौ विप्रतिषेधे यद्बाधितं, तद्बाधितमेव ॥

अश्वक्षीरवृषलवणानामात्मप्रीतौ क्यचि ॥ ५१ ॥ अश्व, क्षीर, वृष, लवणानाम्, आत्मा प्रीतौ, क्यचि ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसीत्यतः प्रभृति निवृत्तम् । अश्व क्षीर वृष लवण इत्येतेषामङ्गानामात्मप्रीतिविषये क्यचि परतो ऽसुगागमो भवति ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अश्ववृषयोर्मैथुनेच्छायामिति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ क्षीरलवणयोर्लालसायामिति वक्तव्यम् ॥
वा० ॥ सर्वप्रातिपदिकेभ्यो लालसायामसुग्वक्तव्यः ॥ वा० ॥ सुग्वक्तव्यः ॥

51. The same augment असुक् is added after the words अश्व, क्षीर, वृष and लवण before the Denominative affix क्यच्, when the delight of the subject in these things is to be expressed.

The anuvṛitti of छन्दसि does not extend to this sûtra or any further. Thus अश्वस्यति वडवा, क्षीरस्यति माणवकः, वृषस्यति गौः, लवणस्यत्युष्ट्रः ॥ अश्व + अस् + य + ति = अश्वस्यति (VI. 1. 97). Why 'when the delight of the subject is meant'? Observe अश्वीयति, क्षीरीयति, वृषीयति and लवणीयति ॥

Vârt :—After अश्व and वृष, the force of the augment is that of desiring sexual connection. *Vârt* :—After क्षीर and लवण it has the force of ardently wishing for, i. e. an intense thirsting after the thing. The augment is not added, though the sense may be that of delight, if it has not the above meanings. Others say *Vârt* :—असुक् should be added after every nominal stem when the sense is that of intense yearning after that thing : as दध्यस्यति, मध्वस्यति &c. Others say *Vârt* :—That the augment सुक् should be added, as दधिस्यति, मधुस्यति &c.

आमि सर्वनाम्नः सुट् ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ आमि, सर्वनाम्नः, सुट् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ आदिति वर्त्तते अवर्णात्सर्वनाम्न उत्तरस्यामः सुडागमो भवति ॥

52. After a Pronominal stem ending in अ or आ, the affix आम् of the Genitive Plural gets the augment स् at the beginning.

The word आम् of the last sûtra is understood here. Thus सर्वेषाम्, विश्वेषाम्, येषाम्, तेषाम्, सर्वासाम्, यासाम्, तासाम् ॥ But भवताम् of भवत् ॥ The आम् of the sûtra is the Genitive Plural ending आम्, and not the आम् of the Locative Singular ordained by VII. 3. 116; for that आम् takes the augments याट्, आट् or स्याट् (VII. 3. 112-114), while the present आम् takes सुट् or नुट् ॥ Nor the आम् of the Perfect Tense (III. I. 35 &c), because that refers to verb and Sarvanâma nor the आम् of V. 4. 11, for the same reason. The word आमि is exhibited in the sûtra in the locative case, for the sake of the subsequent sûtra VII. 1. 53. For the purposes of the present sûtra, it should be construed, as if it was in the Genitive case (आमः सर्वनाम्नः सुट्), because सर्वनाम्नः being in the Ablative case, the augment सुट् will be added at the beginning of the affix following it, on the maxim तस्मादित्युत्तरस्य ॥

त्रेस्त्रयः ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ त्रेः, त्रयः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ त्रिइत्येतस्य आमि परे त्रय इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

53. त्रय is substituted for त्रि before the Genitive Pl. affix.

As त्रयाणाम् ॥ त्रीणाम् however appears in the Veda: as त्रीणामपि समुद्राणाम् ॥

ह्रस्वनद्यापो नुट् ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ ह्रस्व, न दी, आपः, नुट् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ह्रस्वान्तान्नद्यन्तादाबन्ताचोत्तरस्यामो नुडागमो भवति ॥

54. The augment न् is added before the Genitive Pl. ending आम्, after stems ending in a short vowel, after stems called Nadî (I. 4. 3 &c), and after the stems ending in the Feminine affix आ ॥

As वृक्षाणाम्, प्लक्षानाम्, अग्नीनाम्, वायूनाम्, कर्तॄणाम् ॥ नद्यन्तात्:—कुमारीणाम्, किशोरीणाम्, गौरीणाम्, शार्ङ्गरवीणाम्, लक्ष्मीणाम्, ब्रह्मबन्धूनाम्, वीरबन्धूनाम् ॥ आबन्तात्:—खट्वानाम्, मालानाम्, बहुराजानाम्, कारीषगन्ध्यानाम् ॥

The lengthening of the short final vowel takes place by VI. 4. 3.

षट्चतुर्भ्यश्च ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ षट्, चतुर्भ्यः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ षट्संज्ञकेभ्यश्चतुर्शब्दाचोत्तरस्यामो नुडागमो भवति ॥

55. The augment न् is added before the Genitive pl. ending आम् after the Numerals called 'shash', and after चतुर् ॥

As षण्णाम्, पञ्चानाम्, (VI. 4. 7), सप्तानाम्, नवानाम्, दशानाम्, चतुर्णाम् ॥ A numeral ending in र् is not 'shash', hence the specific mention of चतुर ॥

This rule applies to compounds ending with these numerals, when these latter are the principal member, as परमषण्णाम्, परमपंचानाम्, परमचतुर्णाम्, but प्रियषषाम्, प्रियपञ्चाम्, प्रियचतुराम् where the Numerals are secondary (upasarjana).

श्रीग्रामण्योश्छन्दसि ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ श्री, ग्रामण्योः, छन्दसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्री ग्रामणी इत्येतयोश्छन्दसि विषये आमो नुडागमो भवति ॥

56. In the Veda after the words श्री and ग्रामणी, the Gen. Pl. आम् gets the augment न् ॥

As श्रीणामुदारो धरुणो रयीणाम्, अन्यत्र सूतग्रामणीनाम् ॥ This sûtra could be well dispensed with: by I. 4. 5. श्री is optionally a Nadî in the Genitive plural. We make the option of that sûtra a vyavasthita-vibhâshâ, by saying श्री is *always* Nadi in the Veda, and *optionally* every where else. As regards सूतग्रामणीनाम्, we have सूतश्च ग्रामणीश्च = सूतग्रामणि, the Genitive Pl. of which by VII. I. 54 will be सूतग्रामणीनाम् ॥

The necessity of this sûtra will, however, arise if the compound be सूताश्च ते ग्रामण्यश्च सूतग्रामण्यः ॥

गोः पादान्ते ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ गोः, पादान्ते ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गो इत्येतस्मादृक्पादान्ते वर्त्तमानादुत्तरस्यामो नुडागमो भवति ॥

57. After गो, when standing at the end of a Rik verse, the augment न comes before the Gen. Pl. आम् ॥

As विद्माहि त्वा सत्पतिं शूरगोनाम्; but गवां गोत्रमुदसृजो यदङ्गिरः in the beginning of a Pâda. "All rules have exceptions in the Vedas" is an established maxim, so at the end of a Pâda, sometimes this rule does not apply, as हन्तारं शत्रूणां कृधि विराजं गोपतिं गवाम् ॥

इदितो नुम् धातोः ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ इदितः, नुम्, धातोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इदितो धातोर्नुमागमो भवति ॥

58. न् is added after the vowel of the root, in a root which has an indicatory इ in the Dhâtupâṭha.

Thus from कुडि—कुण्डितृ, कुण्डितुम्, कुण्डितव्यम्; from हुडि—हुण्डितृ, हुण्डितुम्, हुण्डितव्यम् &c. But पचति, पठति where इ is not इत् ॥ The न् is added to the root from its very inception, and they must be considered to have got a न, for the purposes of the application of the grammatical rules. Thus III. 3. 103 says that आ is added in the feminine to a root which ends in a consonant and has a prosodially long vowel. The root कुडि must be considered to be such a root and कुण्डा, हुण्डा are thus formed. Similarly though the roots in the Dhâṭupâtha are धिवि and कृवि, in applying affixes we must consider them as धिन्व् and कृन्व्, as the author himself has indicated in III. 1. 80. In short, in adding affixes, these roots should be considered as having a न् ॥ Moreover the *root* (*dhâtu*) should have इ, and not the *stem* (anga). The affixes तासि (Future) and सिच् (Aorist) when added to roots, will not make those roots

इदित्; for the इ in तासि and सिच् is merely for the sake of pronunciation, and is not to be considered as इत् in the strict sense of the word: in fact it should be considered as non-nasalised. If you say that "the इ in सिच् should be considered as इत्, for because of its being इत्, the न् of मन् is not elided by VI. 4. 24 in अमंस्त", we reply, "not so, the न् is not elided, because sûtra इनः सिच् I. 2. 14 makes सिच् a कित् after हन् only, the result of which is that हन् only loses its न् by VI. 4. 37, and no other root". In मन्ता = मन् + तासि + डा = मन् + त् + आ (the आस् is elided VI. 4. 143). For the purposes of the elision of न्, the elided आस् would be considered as asiddha (VI. 4. 22), for both VI. 4. 143, and VI. 4. 37, requiring the elision of न् are âbhîya sûtras. In भेत्ता, छेत्ता from भिदिर् and छिदिर् the whole combination इर् is इत्, and not इ and र् separately, and hence नुम् is not added. But even if these roots be considered as इदित्, the syllable इर् having an इ, yet they will not get the नुम् augment, because the word अन्त of पाशन्ते (VII. 1. 57) is understood here in this sûtra also, so that the roots must have a *final* इ as इत् for the application of this rule.

शे मुचादीनाम् ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ शे, मुचादीनाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शे प्रत्यये परतो मुचादीनां नुमागमो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ शेतृम्फादीनामुपसंख्यानंकर्त्तव्यम् ॥

59. In मुच् &c, before the characteristic श of the Tudâdi class, the न् is placed after the vowel of the root.

Thus मुच्लृ—मुञ्चति, लुम्पति, विन्दति, लिम्पति, सिञ्चति, कृन्तति, खिन्दति, पिंशति ॥ Why "before श"? Observe मोक्ता, मोक्तुम्, मोक्तव्यम् ॥ Why "of मुच् &c"? Observe तुदति, नुदति ॥

Vârt:—The तृम्फ &c should be also enumerated. These are the following roots of Tudâdi class: 24. तृप (तृफ), 25. तृम्फ तृप्तौ, 26. तुप तुम्प, 27. तुफ तुम्फ, हिंसायाम्, 28. दृफ (दृप), 29. दृम्फ उत्क्लेशे, 30. ऋफ (रिफ), ऋम्फ (रिम्फ), हिंसायाम्, 31. गुफ, गुम्फ ग्रन्थे, 32. उभ उन्भ पूरणे, 33. शुभ, शुम्भ शोभार्थे ॥ Of these, those which have a nasal, lose it by VI. 4. 24, and then get the नुम् augment by the present rule, which being specifically ordained, cannot be again dropped. Thus तृम्फति, तुम्फति, तुम्पति, दृम्फति &c. Those which have no nasal, are conjugated as तृफति, तुफति, दृफति गुफति, उभति and शुभति ॥

मस्जिनशोर्झलि ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ मस्जि, नशोः, झलि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मस्जि नशि इत्येतयोरङ्गयोर्झलादौ प्रत्यये नुमागमो भवति ॥

60. The augment नुम् is added after the vowel of the root in मस्ज् and नश, before an affix, beginning with any consonant, other than a semi-vowel or a nasal.

As मङ्क्ता, मस्ज् + तृच् (no इट् by VII. 2. 10), add न् = मस न् ज् + तृ, elide स् by VIII. 2. 29, change ज् to क्, and न् to anusvâra, which then becomes ङ् ॥ मङ्क्तुम्, मङ्क्तव्यम्, नंष्टा, नंष्टुम् and नंष्टव्यम् ॥ But मज्जनम् and नशिता, and मग्न (VI. 4. 32). In मग्नः and मग्नवान्, the नुम् is supposed to be placed the last consonant in मस्ज्, in order that it ma get elded.

रधिजभोरचि ॥ ६१ ॥ रधि, जभोः, अचि ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ रधि जभि इत्येतयोरजादौ प्रत्यये नुमागमो भवति ॥

61. The augment नुम् is added after the root-vowel in रध् and जभ्, before affixes beginning with a consonant.

Thus रन्धयति, रन्धकः, साधुरन्धी, रन्धो वर्त्तते ॥ जम्भयति, जम्भकः, साधुजम्भी, जम्भंजम्भम्, जम्भो वर्त्तते ॥ Though the वृद्धि rule is subsequent, it is superseded by the augment. Why do we say 'before an affix beginning with a vowel'? Observe रद्धा, जभ्यम् ॥

नेट्यलिटि रधेः ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, इटि, अ लिटि, रधेः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ इडादावलिटि प्रत्यये परे रधेर्नुमागमो न भवति ॥

62, The augment नुम् is not added to रध्, before an affix beginning with the augment इट्, except in the Perfect.

As रधिता, रधितुम्, रधितव्यम्, but रन्धनम्, रन्धकः before Aniṭ affixes, and ररन्धिव, ररन्धिम in the Perfect. When नुम् is added रन्ध् becomes a root ending in a conjunct consonant, and therefore the लिट् affixes after it are not कित् (असंयोगात् लिट् कित् I. 2. 5), and therefore the न् is not elided by VI. 4. 24. But when the affix क्वसु of the Perfect is added, we have रेधिवस् Nom. Sg. रेधिवान् ॥ Here the affix being expressly taught with an indicatory क the न् is elided. The reduplicate is elided, the अ changed into ए, then इट् is added, then नुम्, and then the नुम् is elided by the expressly taught कित् ॥

Why was not the sûtra made as इटि लिटि रधेः when by so doing, the augment नुम् would have been added only in the Perfect when it had इट् and no where else? This form of sûtra would have also meant that नुम् would be added in that Perfect which took इट् and in no other Perfect, while cases other than Perfect might take it. That being so, there would be no नुम् in ररन्ध, while रधिता would require नुम् ॥ See, however, the Mahabhâshya for the *contra*.

रभेरशब्लिटोः ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ रभेः, अ शप्, लिटोः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ रभेरङ्गस्य शब्लिड्वर्जिते ऽजादौ प्रत्यये परतो नुमागमो भवति ॥

63. The augment नुम् is added after the vowel of the root रभ् before an affix beginning with a vowel, but not before the vikaraṇa शप् or the affixes of the Perfect.

Thus आरम्भयति, आरम्भकः, साध्वारम्भी, आरम्भमारम्भम्, आरम्भो वर्त्तते ॥ But आरभते in शप्, and आरेभे in लिट्, and आरब्धा before an affix beginning with a con sonant.

लभेश्च ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ लभेः, च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ लभेश्चाजादौ प्रत्यये शब्लिड्वर्जिते नुमागमो भवति ॥

64. So also of लभ्, before an affix beginning with a vowel, with the exception of शप् and लिट्, there is the augment नुम् ॥

As लम्भयति, लम्भकः, साधुलम्भी, लभंलम्भम्, लम्भो वर्तते ॥ But लभते with शप्, and लेभे in the Perfect, and लब्धा before an affix beginning with a consonant. The separation of this from the last, is for the sake of the subsequent aphorisms.

आङो यि ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आङः, यि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आङ उत्तरस्य लभेर्यकारादिप्रत्ययविषये नुमागमो भवति ॥

65. The augment नुम is added to लभ् preceded by आ, before an affix beginning with य ॥

As आलम्भ्यो गौः ॥ The नुम् is added before the addition of the affix, and by so doing लभ् becomes लम्भ् and thus loses its character of having a penultimate अ, and therefore by III. I. 124, we shall have ण्यत् affix, and not यत् affix by III. I. 98. Had the नुम् been added *after* the addition of the affix, then यत् would be added by III. I. 98. Though in both cases the form will be आलम्भ्या, the difference will be in the accent: यत् would throw the acute on the first syllable (यतोऽनावः) while the word has svarita on the final; thus instead of आलॅम्भ्या (by VI. I. 213 and VI. 2. 139), which यत् gives, we have आलम्भ्यां (तित् svar).

Why do we say 'when preceded by आ'? Observe लभ्य ॥ How do you explain अग्निष्टोम आलभ्यः? All rules are optionally applied in the Vedas. Or आलभ्य may be explained by saying that the नुम् having been added, is again dropped.

उपात्प्रशंसायाम् ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपात्, प्रशंसायाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपादुत्तरस्य लभेः प्रशंसायां गम्यमानायां यकारादिप्रत्ययविषये नुमागमो भवति ॥

66. The augment नुम is added to लभ् preceded by उप, before य, when the reference is to something praiseworthy.

As उपलम्भ्या भवता विद्या, उपलम्भ्यानि धनानि ॥ These words are formed by ण्यत् and have svarita on the final. Why do we say 'when referring to something praise worthy'? Observe उपलभ्यमस्माद् वृषलात् किंचित्, this is formed with the यत् affix (III. I. 98).

उपसर्गात्खल्घञोः ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ उप सर्गात्, खल्, घञोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्गादुत्तरस्य लभेः खल्घञोः परतो नुमागमो भवति ॥

67. The augment नुम is added to लभ् preceded by a Preposition, before the affixes खल् (III. 3. 126) and घञ् ॥

Thus ईषत्प्रलम्भः, सुप्रलम्भः, दुष्प्रलम्भः, प्रलम्भः, विप्रलम्भः ॥ This is a Niyama rule, and restricts the scope of VII. 1. 64. Before the vowel affixes खल् and घञ्, the root लभ् gets the augment नुम् only then when it is preceded by a Preposition, and not otherwise, as ईषल्लभः, लाभो वर्तते ॥

न सुदुर्भ्यां केवलाभ्याम् ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, सु, दुर्भ्याम्, केवलाभ्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सु दुरित्येताभ्यां केवलाभ्यामन्योपसर्गरहिताभ्यामुपसृष्टस्य लभेःखल्घञोः परतो नुमागमो न भवति ॥

68. The augment नुम् is not added to लभ् before खल् and घञ् when सु or दुः alone (without another Preposition along with them) precede the root.

Thus सुलभम्, दुर्लभम्, सुलाभो, दुर्लाभः ॥ But सुप्रलम्भः, दुष्प्रलम्भः ॥ The word केवल is used in the sûtra because सुदुर्भ्यां is in the Instrumental case and not in the Ablative. Had it been in the Ablative, there would have been no necessity of using the word केवलं, for the rule would not have applied, when a preposition intervened between these and the root. In अतिसुलभम्, the word अति is not an Upasarga but a Karmapravachanîya ; when अति is used as an Upasarga, we have अतिसुलम्भः ॥ If the words सुदुर्भ्याम् be construed as Ablative, then also the use of केवल is for a purpose similar to that as above.

विभाषा चिण्णमुलोः ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ वि भाषा, चिण्, णमुलोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चिण् णमुल् इत्येतयोर्विभाषा लभेर्नुम्भवति ॥

69. The नुम् is optionally added to लभ् not preceded by a Preposition, before the चिण् Aorist and the Absolutive णमुल् ॥

Thus अलाभि or अलम्भि, लाभंलाभम् or लम्भंलम्भम् ॥ This is a Vyavasthita-vibhâshâ, the option is allowed where there is no Preposition along with the root; and no option is allowed but नुम् must be added, when a Preposition precedes: as प्रालम्भि, प्रलम्भम् ॥

उगिदचां सर्वनामस्थानेऽधातोः ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ उगित्, अ चाम्, सर्वनामस्थाने, अ धातोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उगितामङ्गानां धातुवर्जितानामञ्चतेश्च सर्वनामस्थाने परतो नुमागमो भवति ॥

70. Whatever has an indicatory उ, ऋ and लृ, (with the exception of a root), and the stem अच्, (अञ्चति) get the augment नुम् in the strong cases.

Thus भवतु has an indicatory उ, formed by the Uṇâdi affix डवतुप्, and it is declined as भवान्, भवन्तौ, भवन्तः ॥ Similarly ईयसुन्—श्रेयान्, श्रेयांसौ, श्रेयांसः ; शतृ—पचन्, पचन्तौ, पचन्तः ॥ अञ्च—प्राङ्, प्राञ्चौ, प्राञ्चः ॥

Why do we say 'having an indicatory उक् vowel or the stem अच्'? Observe दृषत्, दृषदौ, दृषदः ॥

Why do we say in strong cases? Observe भवतः पश्य, श्रेयसः पश्य ॥ अञ्च् root is mentioned for the sake of niyama, i. e. of the roots, only अञ्च् gets नुम् and no other root. Therefore उखास्रत्, पर्णध्वत् formed from the roots स्रंसु and ध्वंसु having indicatory उ ॥ (See III. 2. 76, IV. 1. 6, VIII. 2. 72). For the lengthening in भवान् &c, see VI. 4. 10, 14: the च् is elided in प्राङ् by VIII. 2. 23, and न् becomes ङ् by VIII. 2. 62: and त् in स्रत् by VIII. 2. 72.

Why do we say 'with the exception of a root' when by the mere fact of including *one* root अञ्च् all other roots would have been excluded from the scope of this sûtra? The specific mention of अधातोः shows that the prohibition applies to *original* roots, and not to those roots which are *derived* from nouns. Thus गोमन्तमिच्छति = गोमत्यति formed by क्यच् ॥ Here गोमत्य is a derivative root, in its primitive state it was a noun. The prohibition of अधातोः will not apply to this root and नुम् will be added. Thus गोमत्य + क्विप् = गोमत्य् + ० (the अ is dropped by VI. 4. 48) = गोमत् + ० (the य् is elided by VI. 4. 50). Now is added नुम् and we have गोमान् ॥

युजेरसमासे ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ युजेः, अ समासे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ युजेरसमासे सर्वनामस्थाने परतो नुमागमो भवति ॥

71. The nominal stem युज् gets before the strong cases the augment न्, when it does not stand in a compound.

Thus युङ् (VIII. 2. 23, 62) युञ्जौ, युञ्जः; but अश्वयुक्, अश्वयुजौ, अश्वयुजः in a compound. The root युज समाधौ (Divâdi 68) is not to be taken here; therefore not here युजमापन्ना ऋषयः ॥ But युजिर् योगे (Rudhâdi 7) is to be taken.

नपुंसकस्य झलचः ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ नपुंकस्य, झल्, अचः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नपुंसकस्य झलन्तस्याजन्तस्य च सर्वनामस्थाने परतो नुमागमो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ बहूर्जि प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥ वा० ॥ अन्त्यात्पूर्वं नुममेकइच्छन्ति ॥

72. The augment नुम् is added in the strong cases to a Neuter stem ending in a consonant (other than a nasal or a semivowel), or ending in a vowel.

Thus उदश्विन्ति, शकृन्ति (VI. 4. 10) यशांसि, पयांसि; कुण्डानि, वनानि (VI. 4. 8), त्रपूणि, जतूनि ॥ Why 'of a Neuter'? Observe अग्निचिद् ब्राह्मणः ॥ Why do we say 'not ending in a semivowel or a nasal'? Observe बहुपुरि, बहुधुरि, विमलदिवि, चत्वारि, अहानि (VII. 1. 98). A neuter having an indicatory उक् vowel gets नुम् by this sûtra and not by VII. 1. 70, as that is superseded by this, this being the subsequent. As श्रेयांसि, भूयांसि कुर्वन्ति कृषन्ति ब्राह्मणकुलानि ॥

Vârt:—Prohibition should be stated with regard to बहूर्जि; as बहूर्जि ब्राह्मणकुलानि ॥ Some would have न् added between र् and ज् of this word, as बहूर्न्जि ब्राह्मणकुलानि ॥ See I. 4. 13.

इको ऽचि विभक्तौ ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ इकः, अचि, विभक्तौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इगन्तस्य नपुंसकस्याङ्गस्याजादौ विभक्तौ नुमागमो भवति ॥

Kârikâ—इकोचि व्यञ्जने मा भूदस्तु लोपः स्वरः कथम्।
स्वरो वै श्रूयमाणे पि लुप्ते किं न भविष्यति ॥
यथात्वं तिसृभावश्च व्यवधानान्नुमा अपि।
नुड् वाच्य उत्तरार्थं तु इह किं त्रिपो इति ॥

73. The augment नुम् is added to a Neuter-stem ending in a simple vowel, except अ, before a case-affix beginning with a vowel.

Thus त्रपुणी, जतुनी, तुम्बुरुणी, त्रपुणे, जतुने, तुम्बुरुणे ॥ Why "with the exception of अ"? Observe कुण्डे, पीठे ॥ The phrase "before an affix beginning with a vowel" is employed here for the sake of the subsequent sûtras like VII. 1. 75. Here we could have dispensed with it: for before affixes beginning with a consonant, नुम् would be elided by VIII. 2. 7. The only object that it serves here is that we can form हे त्रपो! or हे त्रपु! in the Vocative singular. For had we त्रपुन्+स in the vocative, the form would have been हे त्रपुन् like हे राजन्, for न् would not be elided here, see VIII. 2. 8.

If it be objected that by the sûtra न लुमताङ्गस्य (I. 1 63) when the affix सु is elided in the Vocative, it will leave no trace behind, and there being no affix at all, नुम् will not be added in the Vocative. We reply: that this very employment of the word अच् in this sûtra indicates (jñâpaka) that the rule prohibiting the effect of an affix (I. 1. 63) does not apply here. Therefore, though the affix is elided, it produces its effect in spite of I. 1. 63, and we have the guṇa of the vowel in the Vocative, as हे त्रपो by VII. 3. 108.

Why have we used the word विभक्तौ 'when a case-affix follows'? Observe तुम्बुरवं चूर्णम्, where the *taddhita* affix अण् is added to तुम्बुरु by IV. 3. 139.

Kârikâ:—The employment of the words इकः अचि in the sûtra shows that नुम् will not come when the affix begins with a consonant, as त्रपुभ्यां, त्रपुभिः ॥ An objector says, the employment of अचि in the sûtra is useless for नुम् may be added even before an affix beginning with a consonant, for having added it, it will be elided by न लोपःप्रातिपदिकान्तस्य (VIII. 2. 7). We reply, yes it can be so done, but how will you then manage the accent? For in पैञ्चत्रपुभ्यां, पैञ्चत्रपुभिः, the accent is regulated by the rule VI. 2. 29 which says that in a Dvigu compound, the first member preserves its original accent if the second member ends in an इक् vowel. But if there was a नुम्, then the second member would not end in इक् but in न्: and the elision of this न् by VII. 2. 7. is asiddha for the purposes of accent. To this the objector answers, that even where न् is not elided the accent is governed by VI. 2. 29, namely the accent of पैञ्चत्रपुणे or पञ्चत्रपुण: is by VI. 2. 29, why should it not be so when न् is elided. So the objection about accent has no strength.

Well if नुम् be added even before consonant-affix, then there will arise this anomaly: अतिरि + भ्यां = अतिरिन् + भ्यां (by adding नुम्). Here rule VII. 2. 85 cannot apply: because न् intervenes between रि and भ्यां, therefore इ of रि is not changed to आ, and therefore we cannot get the proper from अतिराभ्यां ॥ Moreover in प्रियत्रि + भ्यां, the त्रि cannot be changed to तिसृ if there be नुम्, and so we cannot get the form प्रियतिसृभ्यां ब्राह्मणकुलानि ॥

To this it is answered, the change of इ into आ in the case of रि, and the substitution of तिसृ for त्रि will take place even when the नुम् intervenes, on the maxim विभक्तिविधानदशायां यदानन्तर्यं तत् तत्राश्रीयते न त्वादेशविधानदशायाम् ॥ And this is done in this way: अतिरि + भ्यां, and प्रियत्रि + भ्यां, here नुम् is superseded by the subsequent rule requiring आ and तिसृ respectively.

If this be so, then the employment of अच् in the sûtra is for the sake of the supersession of नुम् by नुट् (VII. 1. 54). Thus नुट् has unrestricted scope in अग्नीनां, वायूनां, and नुम् has unrestricted scope in त्रपुणे and जतुने ॥ But in त्रपूणाम् and जतूनाम्, both नुट् and नुम् present themselves. Here however नुम् is superseded by नुट् by purva-vipratishedha and so there is lengthening of the vowel by VI. 4. 3. This supersession is indicated by the employment of अच्, for नुट् and नुम् being both *anitya* and of equal force, had there been no अच्, नुम् would have come and not नुट् ॥

But this is also not valid, for नुट् would have to be added, even if there had been no अच् in the sûtra.

The employment of अच् is for the sake of the subsequent sûtra VII. 1. 75. The only object that अच् serves in this sûtra, is in forming the vocative हे त्रपो as shown above.

तृतीयादिषु भाषितपुंस्कं पुंवद्गालवस्य ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ तृतीयदिषु, भाषित पुंस्कम्, पुम्वत्, गालवस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तृतीयादिषु विभक्तिष्वजादिषु भाषितपुंस्कंनपुं सकलिङ्गमिगन्तं गालवस्याचार्यस्य मतेन पुंवद्भवति । यथा पुंसि ह्रस्वनुमौ न भवतस्तद्वदत्रापि न भवत इत्यर्थः ।

74. A neuter stem ending in a vowel, except अ, of which there exists an equivalent, uniform masculine, is treated like the masculine, in the opinion of Gâlava, before the vowel beginning affixes of the Instrumental and the cases that follow it.

As in the Masculine there is no shortening, nor the addition of नुम्, so here also. As ग्रामणी is the equivalent, uniform masculine of the neuter form ग्रामणि, we have either Ins. ग्रामणिना or ग्रामण्या ब्राह्मणकुलेन, the Ins. Sg. of ग्रामणि n. Similarly Dat. ग्रामणिने or ग्रामण्ये ब्राह्मणकुलाय; Abl. ग्रामणिनो or ग्रामण्यो ब्राह्मणकुलात्, Gen. Sg. ग्रामणिनो or ग्रामण्यो ब्राह्मणकुलस्य, Gen. Du. ग्रामणिनोर्ब्राह्मणकुलयोः or ग्रामण्योः; Gen. Pl. ग्रामणीनां or ग्रामण्यां ब्राह्मणकुलानां ॥ Loc. ग्रामणिनि or ग्रामण्यां ब्राह्मणकुले ॥ Similarly: Ins. शुचिना (same form in mas. and neu.), Dat. शुचये or शुचिने; Abl. and Gen. शुचेः or शुचिनः Gen. Du. शुच्योः or शुचिनोः Loc. शुचौ or शुचिनि॥

Why do we say after the 3rd case and the rest? Observe ग्रामणिनी ब्राह्मणकुले, and शुचिनी Nom. dual. Why do we say having an appropriate masculine of the same form and meaning? Observe त्रपुण, जतुन ॥ Why have we only one form पीलुने फलाय, when पीलुर्वृक्षः and पीलुफलं show that पीलु has a masculine form also. The word पीलु is masculine when it applies to 'trees', and पीलु is neuter when it refers to 'fruits'; so this word पीलु cannot be said to be भाषितपुंस्कः, the masculine पीलु not having the same meaning as the neuter पीलु ॥ See VI. 3. 34.

Why do we say "ending in a vowel except अ"? Observe कीलालपा ब्राह्मणः and कीलालपं ब्राह्मणकुलं; the Ins. &c of कीलालपा will not be the Ins. &c of कीलालपं ॥ The latter will have only one form कीलालपेन ब्राह्मणकुलेन ॥ &c.

Before case affixes beginning with a consonant we have one form only, as ग्रामणिभ्यां ब्राह्मणकुलाभ्याम् ॥

अस्थिदधिसक्थ्यक्ष्णामनङुदात्तः ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अस्थि, दधि, सक्थि, अक्ष्णाम्, अनङ्, उदात्तः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अस्थि दधि सक्थि अक्षि इत्येतेषां नपुंसकानां तृतीयादिष्वजादिषु विभक्तिषु परतो ऽनङित्ययमादेशो भवति, स चोदात्तो भवति ॥

75. The acutely accented अन् (अनङ्) is substituted for the finals of asthi, dadhi, sakthi and akshi, before the affixes of the Instrumental and the cases that follow it, which begin with a vowel.

Thus अस्थ्ना, अस्थ्ने, दध्ना, दध्ने, सक्थ्ना, सक्थ्ने, अक्ष्णा, अक्ष्णे ॥ The words अस्थि &c have acute on the first syllable, the substitute अनङ् would have been also anudâtta, but for this sûtra. The stem getting the designation भ, we elide the अ (VI. 4. 134), the udâtta अ being thus elided, the case-ending, which was anudâtta before, now becomes udâtta (VI. 1. 161). The stems ending with 'asthi &c' and though not neuter, are governed by this rule. As प्रियास्थ्ना ब्राह्मणेन, प्रियदध्ना ॥ Why 'before the affixes of the Instrumental and the rest?' Observe अस्थिनी, दधिनी ॥ Before affixes beginning with a consonant, we have अस्थिभ्याम्, दधिभ्याम् ॥

छन्दस्यपि दृश्यते ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसि, अपि, दृश्यते ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अस्थिदधिसक्थ्यक्ष्णामनङ् छन्दस्यपि दृश्यते । यत्र विहितस्ततोऽन्यत्रापि दृश्यते ॥

76. In the Veda also, the stems 'asthi', 'dadhi', 'sakthi' and 'akshi', are found to take the substitute अनङ्, before endings other than those mentioned above.

Thus the substitute is ordained before endings beginning with a vowel. In the Veda it comes before affixes beginning with a consonant. As इन्द्रो दधीचो अस्थभिः, भद्रं पश्येमाक्षभिः ॥ The substitute is ordained to come after the Instrumental &c. In the Vedic literature it is found in the Acc. &c. As अस्थानि in अस्थान्युत्कृत्य जुहोति ॥ The substitute comes before case-endings (vi-

bhakti), in the Vedic literature it comes before affixes which are not case-endings, as अक्षण्वता लाङ्गलेन, अस्थन्वन्तं यदनस्था बिभर्त्ति ॥ See VI. 1. 176.

ई च द्विवचने ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ई, च, द्विवचने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्विवचने परतश्छन्दसि विषये ऽस्थ्यादीनामीकारादेशो भवति, सचोदात्तः ॥

77. The acutely accented ई is substituted for the final of asthi, dadhi, sakthi and akshi, in the Veda, when the case-affixes of the dual follow.

As अक्षी ते इन्द्रपिङ्गले कपेरिव ॥ अक्षीभ्यान् ते नासिकाभ्याम् ॥ In अक्षी the augment नुम् is not added to the stem before the vowel-beginning ending, because VII. 1. 73, which ordained नुम्, is superseded by the present sûtra, and being once superseded, it is superseded for good. (सकृद् गतौ विप्रतिषेधे यद्बाधितं तद्बाधितमेव) ॥

नाभ्यस्ताच्छतुः ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, अभ्यस्तात्, शतुः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभ्यस्तादङ्गादुत्तरस्य शतुर्नुम्न भवति ॥

78. The Participial-affix शतृ (अत्-अन्त्), does not take the augment नुम् after a reduplicate stem.

Thus ददत्, ददतौ, ददतः, जक्षत्, जक्षतौ, जक्षतः, जाग्रत्, जाग्रतौ, जाग्रतः ॥ This is an exception to VII. 1. 70, and applies of course to sarvanâmasthâna or strong cases. The नुम् is to be read into this sûtra from VII. 1. 70; for the negation of this sûtra cannot apply to ई taught in the preceding sûtra, for ई is never ordained after śatṛi: therefore, though several other operations intervene, yet नुम् is to be read here.

वा नपुंसकस्य ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, नपुंसकस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभ्यस्तादङ्गादुत्तरो यः शतृप्रत्ययस्तदन्तस्य नपुंसकस्य वा नुमागमो भवति ॥

79. The Participial-affix शतृ optionally takes the augment नुम् after a reduplicate stem, in Neuter nouns.

Thus ददति or ददन्ति, कुलानि; दधति or दधन्ति कुलानि, जक्षति or जक्षन्ति कुलानि, जाग्रति or जाग्रन्ति कुलानि॥ This of course applies to sarvanâmasthâna or strong cases.

आच्छीनद्योर्नुम् ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ आत्, शी, नद्योः, नुम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अवर्णान्तादङ्गादुत्तरस्य शतुर्वा नुमागमो भवति शीनद्योः परतः ॥

80. When the affix शतृ comes after a verbal stem ending in अ or आ, it may optionally take the augment नुम्, before the neutral case-ending शी and before the feminine affix ई ॥

Thus तुदती कुले or तुदन्ती कुले, तुदन्ती ब्राह्मणी, तुदती ब्राह्मणी, याती कुले, यान्ती कुले याती ब्राह्मणी, यान्ती ब्राह्मणी, करिष्यती कुले, करिष्यन्ती कुले, करिष्यती ब्राह्मणी, करिष्यन्ती ब्राह्मणी ॥ अत्रान्तरङ्गत्वादेकादेशे कृते व्यपवर्गाभावादवर्णान्तादङ्गादुत्तरस्य शतुरिति न युज्यते वक्तुम्, उभयत आश्रये नान्तादिवदित्यन्तादिवद्भावोपि नास्ति भूतपूर्वगत्याश्रयणो वा ऽदतो प्रतीत्येवमादिष्वतिप्रसङ्ग इति, अत्र सभाधि

केचिदाहुः, शातुरवयवे शतृशब्दो वर्त्तते, अवर्णान्तादङ्गादुत्तरो यः शत्रवयव इति ॥ अपरे पुनराहुः, आदित्येतेन शीनद्यावेव विशेष्यते, अवर्णान्तादङ्गादुत्तरे ये शीनद्यौ तयोः परतः शत्रन्तस्य नुम्भवतीति, तत्र येन नाव्यवधानं तेन व्यवहितेऽपि वचनप्रामाण्यादिति तकारेणैव व्यवधानमाश्रयिष्यते ॥ आदिति किम्, कुर्वती, सुन्वती ॥ शीनद्योरिति किम्, तुदताम्, नुदताम् ॥

The form तुदती is thus evolved. तुद् + श + शतृ + ङीप् ॥ The vikarana श is added by III. 1. 77, & ङीप् by IV. 1. 6. This is equal to तुद् + अ + अत् + ई = तुदती the अ + अ becoming अ by the rule of पररूप ekâdeśa (VI. 1. 97). This ekâdeśa operation being antaranga, now there is no शतृ affix coming after a stem ending in अ, and therefore this sûtra will not apply. If you say the ekâdeśa will be considered as the final of तुद् by VI. 1. 85, we reply, that the antâchvadbhâva of that sûtra will not apply when simultaneous operations are to be performed, for अ cannot be said at one and the same time as the final of तुद् and the beginning of अत् (शतृ). If you say the maxim सांप्रतिकाभावे भूतपूर्व गतिः (when a word cannot denote something which actually is what is expressed by the word, it must be understood to denote something which formerly was what is expressed by it), will apply here, and that तुद् will be considered to end in अ because it formerly did end in the affix अ of श; we reply that then the present rule should apply to forms like अदती घ्नती &c. For here also we have अद् + शप् लोप + शतृ + ङीप्; and अद् should be considered to end in अ, because it had the affix शप् after it, though it was afterwards elided. The maxim quoted, therefore, proves too much.

To solve these objections, some say, that the word शतृ in this sûtra means 'a portion of the affix शतृ, such as त्' and the sûtra means 'after a stem ending in अ, to the portion त् of the affix शतृ there is added नुम्.' Others say, the word आत् in the sûtra qualifies शी and नदी and not शतृ; and the sutra means "नुम् is added to a stem ending in शतृ, when शी or नदी affixes follow after a stem ending in अ." Therefore in तुदती the affix ई is considered to come after the अ of तुद, the intervening त् not debarring it.

Why do we say "after अ"? Observe कुर्वती and सुन्वती, no optional नुम् is added here. Why do we say "शी and नदी following"? Observe तुदताम and नुदताम्

शप्श्यनोर्नित्यम् ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ शप्, श्यनोः, नित्यम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शप् श्यन् इत्येतयोः शतुः शीनद्योः परतो नित्यं नुमागमो भवति ॥

81. When the affix शतृ comes after a verbal stem ending in the vikaranas शप् and श्यन्, it invariably takes the augment नुम् before the neutral case-ending शी (ई), and the feminine ending ई (Nadî).

Thus पचन्ती कुले, पचन्ती ब्राह्मणी, दीव्यन्ती कुले, दीव्यन्ती ब्राह्मणी, सीव्यन्ती कुले, सीव्यन्ती ब्राह्मणी ॥ The word नित्य stops the anuvṛitti of वा (VII. 1. 79).

सावनडुहः ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सौ, अनडुहः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सौ परतो ऽनडुहोऽङ्गस्य नुमागमो भवति ॥

82. अनडुह् gets the augment नुम् before the ending सु of the Nom. Sg. (and Vocative).

By VII. 1. 98 अनडुह् gets the augment आ after उ in the strong cases, and अ in Vocative Singular (VII. 1. 99). It thus becomes अनड्वाह् and अनड्वह् ॥ By the present sûtra न् is added after this आ and अ ॥ The case-ending is elided by VI. 1. 68, and the final ह् by VIII. 2. 23. Thus we have अनड्वान् Nominative Singular; and अनड्वन् in the Vocative Singular. The augments आम् and अम् (VII. 1. 98, 99), do not supersede नुम्, nor are they superseded by नुम् ॥

In this sûtra, some read the annvṛitti of आत् from VII. 1. 80; and by so doing they add नुम् to that form of अनडुह् where there is an आ or अ, namely, after the word has taken the augment आम् in the nominative singular by VII. 1. 98, and अम् in the Vocative by VII. 1. 99. Therefore, the नुम् does not debar आम् or अम्, nor is it debarred by आम् or अम् ॥ Others hold that though one is a general rule and the other is a particular rule, yet in this instance, आम् (or अम्) and नुम् are applied simultaneously, one not debarring the other, there is no relationship of बाध्य and बाधक among them, just as in पिपठिषति the rule of lengthening (VI. 4. 16) and reduplication are applied simultaneously, one not debarring the other. In बह्वनड्वांहि ब्राह्मणकुलानि, we add first आम् because it is subsequent, and them we add नुम् by VII. 1. 72 on the maxim of पुनः प्रसङ्गविज्ञान &c ॥

दृक्स्ववस्स्वतवसां छन्दसि ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ दृक्, स्ववस्, स्वतवसाम्, छन्दसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दृक् स्ववस् स्वतवस् इत्येतेषां सौ परतो नुमागमो भवति छन्दसिविषये ॥

83. दृश्, स्ववस् and स्वतवस् take the augment नुम् before the affix सु (Nominative and Vocative Singular) in the Veda.

Thus ईदृङ्, तादृङ्, यादृङ्, सदृङ्, स्ववान्, स्वतवान् ॥ The श् of ईदृश् (formed by III. 2. 60), is elided by VIII. 2. 23; and ङ् substituted for न् by VIII. 2. 62. The lengthening in स्ववान् and स्वतवान् is through VI. 4. 14.

दिव औत् ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ दिवः, औत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिविस्येतस्य सौ परतो औदित्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

84. औ is substituted for the final of दिव् before सु (Nom. Sg. and Voc. Sg).

As द्यौः ॥ There is a nominal-stem दिव् which is taken here. It has no indicatory letters annexed to it. The root दिव् is not to be taken here, as it

has the indicatory letter उ and is exhibited in the Dhâtupâṭha as श्विु ॥ The nominal-stem derived from श्विु, does not take औ, but ऊ, the Nom. Sg. of which is शुः as अक्षशुः (See VI. 4. 19, and VI. 1. 131).

पथिमथ्यृभुक्षामात् ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ पथि, मथि, ऋभुक्षाम्, आत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पथिन् मथिन् ऋभुक्षिन् इत्येतेषामङ्गानां सौ परत आकार आदेशो भवति ॥

85. आत् (आ) is substituted for the final of 'pathin' 'mathin' and 'ṛbhukshin', before the ending सु (of the Nom. Sg).

As पन्थाः, मन्थाः, ऋभुक्षाः ॥ Though the sthânin here is a nasal (i. e. न्), yet the substitute आ is not to be nasalised, but to be pronounced purely. For न्थ see VII. 1. 87. The nasal आं is not to be taken on the maxim भाव्यमानेन सवर्णानां ग्रहणं न भवति ॥ "A letter which is taught in a rule does not denote the letters homogeneous with it.'

इतोत्सर्वनामस्थाने ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ इतः, अत्, सर्वनामस्थाने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पथ्यादीनामिकारस्य स्थाने आकारादेशो भवति ॥

86. अ is substituted for the इ of 'pathin, mathin and ṛbhukshin,' in the strong cases.

Thus पन्थाः, पन्थानौ, पन्थानः, पन्थानम्, पन्थानौ, मन्थाः, मन्थानौ, मन्थानः, मन्थानम्, मन्थानौ, ऋभुक्षाः, ऋभुक्षाणौ, ऋभुक्षाणः, ऋभुक्षाणम्, ऋभुक्षाणौ । आदिति वर्त्तमाने पुनरद्वचनं तपरार्थम्, ऋभुक्षणमित्यत्र या तपूर्वस्य निगमइति दीर्घविकल्पः ॥

Though the anuvṛitti of आत् was here, the separate mention of अत् is for the sake of VI. 4. 9: by which in the case of ऋभुक्षिन् we have two forms, ऋभुक्षाणम् and ऋभुक्षणन् ॥

थोन्थः ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ थः, न्थः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पथिमथोस्थकारस्य स्थाने न्थ इत्ययमादेशो भवति सर्वनामस्थाने परतः ॥

87. न्थ् is substituted for the थ् of pathin and mathin in the strong cases.

As पन्थाः, पन्थानौ, पन्थानः, मन्थाः, मन्थानौ मन्थानः ॥

भस्य टेर्लोपः ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ भस्य, टेः, लोपः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पथ्यादीनां भसंज्ञकानां टेर्लोपो भवति ॥

88. The last vowel, with the consonant that follows it, is dropped in pathin, mathin and ṛbhukshin, before a weak case-ending beginning with a vowel (before which the stem is called Bha I. 4. 18).

As पथः, पथा, पथे, मथः, मथा, मथे, ऋभुक्षः, ऋभुक्षा, ऋभुक्षे ॥ The anuvṛitti of sarvanâmasthâna, of course, is inappropriate here: though its anuvṛitti is current as will be seen in the next sûtra.

पुंसोऽसुङ् ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुंसः, असुङ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पुंस इत्येतस्य सर्वनामस्थाने परतोऽसुङित्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

89. असुङ् (अस्) is substituted for the final of पुंस् in the strong cases.

The word पुंस् is derived from पा (to protect) + डुम्सुन् (Uṇ IV. 178), the म् being changed to anusvâra. So when स् of पुंस् is replaced by अस् we get the form पुमस्, the उ of असुङ् indicates that न् should be added in the strong cases after अ (VII. 1. 70), so we have पुमान्, पुमांसौ, पुमांसः ॥

This substitution must take place in its incipient stage before the affixes are added, (उपदेशिवद्भावः): otherwise the accent will be wrong. The compounds have acute on the final, (VI. 1. 223), therefore, परमपुंस् has acute on पु. and in the Nominative Singular परमपुमान् the acute will remain on पु, but it is intended that it should be on मा, thus परमपुमाँन् ॥ The simple word पुमान् of course, has accent on पु ॥

गोतो णित् ॥ ९० ॥ पदानि ॥ गोतो, णित् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोशब्दात्परं सर्वनामस्थानं णिद्भवति ॥

90. The endings of the strong cases are णित् after गो ॥

That is, these affixes produce all the णित् operations: such as Vṛiddhi &c. As गौः, गावौ, गावः ॥ Why have we added a त् after गो? The rule applies to the form गो, and not when it assumes the form गु, as in चित्रगुः, शबलगुः ॥

How do you explain the forms हे चित्रगो, हे शबलगवः? This is done on the maxim अङ्गवृत्ते पुनर्वृत्तावविधि र्निष्ठितस्य, (when an operation which is taught in the Angâdhikâra VI. 4.—VII. 4. has taken place, and another operation of the Angâdhikâra is subsequently applicable, this latter operation is not allowed to take place). For when Guṇa once takes place before the Vocative and the Nominative Plural affix by VII. 3. 108-109, the णित्व operation of this rule will not again take place. Or गोतः in the sûtra may be construed as Sambandha-lakshaṇâ Sasṭhî (a Genitive denoting a general relation): and the meaning will be "that sarvanâmasthâna affix, denoting singular, dual, plural, which refers to the meaning of गो or 'cow.' While in चित्रगु, the sarvanâmasthâna affix does not refer to 'cow' but to another *object*, namely to a '*person*' who possesses brindled cows. त् in गोत् in this view is for specification only.

Some read the sûtra as ओतः णित्, so that the rule will apply to द्यो also: as, द्यौः, द्यावौ, द्यावः ॥ If the reading be taken गोतः, then we extend this rule to द्यो also, by taking गो as merely illustrative of all words ending in ओ; and this is done by the letter त् in गोतः, for the तपर rule applies to *letters*, and not to *words*, so that गोतः means and includes गो and words ending in ओ ॥

णलुत्तमो वा ॥ ९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ णल्, उत्तमः, वा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उत्तमो णल्वा णिद् भवति णित्कार्यं तत्र वा भवतीत्यर्थः ॥

91. The ending of the First Pers. Sg. in the Perfect optionally acts as णित् ॥

The Vṛiddhi is optional, as अहं णकार or चकर, अहं पपाच or पपच ॥

सख्युरसम्बुद्धौ ॥ ९२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सख्युः, अ सम्बुद्धौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ असंबुद्धौ यः सखिशब्दः तस्मात्परं सर्वनामस्थानं णिद्भवति ॥

92. After सखि, the endings of the strong cases, with the exception of the Vocative singular, are णित् ॥

That is, they cause Vṛiddhi. As सखायौ, सखायः, but हे सखे ॥

अनङ् सौ ॥ ९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनङ्, सौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सखिशब्दस्य सौ परतो ऽनङित्ययमादेशो भवति स चेत्सुशब्दः संबुद्धिर्न भवति ॥

93. अनङ् (अन्) is substituted for the इ of सखि before सु of the Nominative Singular, (but not in the Vocative Singular).

As सखा, but हे सखे ॥

ऋदुशनस्पुरुदंसोऽनेहसां च ॥ ९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋत्, उशनस्, पुरुदंशः अनेहसाम् च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋकारान्तानामङ्गानामुशनस् पुरुदंशस् इत्येतेषां चासंबुद्धौ सौ परतो ऽनङादेशो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ उशनसः सम्बुद्धावपि पक्षेऽनङ् इष्यते । न ङिसंबुद्ध्योरिति नलोपप्रतिषेधोऽपि पक्षइष्यते ॥

Kárika:—संबोधने तूशनसस्त्रिरूपं सान्तं तथा नान्तमथाप्यदन्तम् ॥
माध्यंदिनिर्वष्टि गुणं त्विगन्ते नपुंसके व्याघ्रपदां वरिष्ठः ॥

94. Anañ (अन्) is substituted for the final of the stems ending in ऋ, as well as for the final of uśanas, purudanśas, and anehas, in the Nominative Singular (but not in the Vocative Singular).

As कर्ता, हर्ता, माता, पिता, भ्राता, उशना, पुरुदंशा, अनेहा ॥ In the Voc. Sg. we have हे कर्तः, हे मातः, पितः पुरुदंशः, अनेहः and उशनः ॥

Várt:—अनङ् is substituted for the final of उशनस् in the Voc. Sg. also, as हे उशनन्, the final न् not being elided (See VIII. 2. 8). Otherwise we have हे उशन ! Thus it has three forms in the Vocative Singular: as हे उशनस्, हे उशनन्, and हे उशन ! ॥

Káriká:—In the vocative, the word उशनस् has three forms, (1) ending in स् when अनङ् is not added, (2) ending in न्, when न is not elided, (3) ending in अ when न् is elided. This is the opinion of the Achârya Mâdhyandini. So also according to the Achârya Vaiyâghrapadya, (the best of the Vyâghrapadas), there is Guṇa in the Neuter of the stems ending in इक् vowels; as हे त्रपो ॥

The त् in ऋत् is for the sake of distinctness.

तृज्वत्क्रोष्टुः ॥ ९५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तृज्वत्, क्रोष्टुः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रोष्टुशब्दस्तुन्प्रत्ययान्तः संज्ञाशब्दः सर्वनामस्थाने ऽसंबुद्धौ परतः तृज्वद्भवति ॥

95. The word क्रोष्टु 'a jackal' is treated in the strong cases (with the exception of Vocative Singular) as if it ended in तृच् (तृ) ॥

The word क्रोष्टु is declined like क्रोष्ट्र in the strong cases. As क्रोष्टा, क्रोष्टारौ, क्रोष्टारः, क्रोष्टारम्, क्रोष्टारौ ॥ But क्रोष्टून् in weak cases, and हे क्रोष्टो in the Vocative Singular. The accent in the strong cases is also that of the तृच् affix, i.e. acute on the final. The word क्रोष्टु is formed by the affix तुन् (Uṇ सितनिगमि &c, I. 69).

स्त्रियां च ॥ ९२ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्त्रियां, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ असर्वनामस्थानार्थमारम्भः । स्त्रियां च क्रोष्टुशब्दस्य तृज्वद्भवति ॥

96. The word क्रोष्टु is treated as if it ended in तृच्, in the feminine, before all case-endings.

This sûtra is commenced for the sake of cases other than strong ones. In strong cases, whether of masculine or feminine, the former sûtra applies; but in the feminine, in other cases also there is tṛich-treatment. Thus क्रोष्ट्री, क्रोष्ट्रीभ्याम, क्रोष्ट्रीभिः ॥ Some read the word क्रोष्टु in the Gaurâdi class (IV. 1. 41), and they treat it is a तृच् ending word before the feminine affix ङीष, as क्रोष्ट्री ॥ According to them, in forming the Taddhitârtha compounds like पञ्चभिः क्रोष्ट्रीभिः क्रीतैः = पञ्चक्रोष्टृभी रथैः, we could not get the form पञ्चक्रोष्टृभिः, because when the affix ठक् is elided by V. 1. 28, the feminine is also elided by I. 2. 49, and the ङीष् being thus luk-elided, there would be no तृज्वद्भाव, because the affix leaves no trace behind I. 1. 63. To get out of the difficulty, we can only say, that the form is so, in spite of the apparent inconsistency.

Those who do not read क्रोष्टु in the Gaurâdi class, they explain this sûtra by saying that the word स्त्रियां indicates the sense, namely, क्रोष्टु is treated like a तृच् word, when it denotes a female, wherever it may occur.

And because क्रोष्टु is treated as if it was क्रोष्टृ, the feminine will be formed by the affix ङीप् by IV. 1. 5, and the form क्रोष्ट्री will be end-acute by VI. 1. 174. So that whether क्रोष्ट्री be formed by ङीष् under Gaurâdi class, or by ङीप् under IV. 1. 5, the accent remains the same: while under this second view, we have not to face any such difficulty as in the first.

विभाषा तृतीयादिष्वचि ॥ ९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, तृतीयादिषु, अचि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तृतीयादिषु विभक्तिष्वजादिषु क्रोष्टुर्विभाषा तृज्वद्भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ तृज्वद्भावात् पूर्वविप्रतिषेधेन नुम्नुटौ भवतः ॥

97. क्रोष्टु may optionally be treated as Kroshṭṛ, before the endings beginning with a vowel, in the Instrumental and the cases that follow it.

As क्रोष्ट्रा or क्रोष्टुना, क्रोष्ट्रे or क्रोष्टवे, क्रोष्टुः or क्रोष्टोः, क्रोष्टरि or क्रोष्टौ, क्रोष्ट्रोः or क्रोष्ट्वोः ॥ But क्रोष्टून् in the Accusative Plural, and क्रोष्टुभ्यां before consonant-beginning affixes.

Vârt:—नुम् and नुट् augments come in supersession of the Trich-vadbhâva ordained by the preceding sûtras. Thus the Dative of the Neuter noun प्रियक्रोष्टु will be प्रियक्रोष्टुने ऽरण्याय, हितक्रोष्टुने वृषलकुलाय, and not °क्रोष्ट्रे ॥ Similarly with नुट्, as क्रोष्टूनाम् ॥

चतुरनडुहोरामुदात्तः ॥ ९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ चतुर्, अनडुहोः, आम्, उदात्तः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चतुर् अनडुह् इत्येतयोः सर्वनामस्थाने परत आमागमो भवति, स चोदात्तः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अनडुहः स्त्रियां वेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

98. चतुर् and अनडुह् get the acutely accented augment आ (आम्) after the उ in the strong cases.

Thus चत्वारः, अनड्वान्, अनड्वाहौ, अनड्वाहः, अनड्वाहम् ॥ The rule applies to compounds ending with चत्वार् and अनडुह्, as प्रियचत्वार्, प्रियचत्वारौ, प्रियचत्वारः, प्रियानड्वान्, प्रियानड्वाहौ, प्रियानड्वाहः ॥

Vârt:—In the case of अनडुह् there is option in the feminine, as अनडुही, or अनड्वाही ॥ This would be so, because it occurs in Gaurâdi class IV. 1. 41.

अम्संबुद्धौ ॥ ९९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अम्, सम्बुद्धौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संबुद्धौ परतश्चतुरनडुहोरमागमो भवति ॥

99. चतुर् and अनडुह् get the augment अ after the उ in the Vocative Singular.

This debars the previous rule, as हे प्रियचत्वः (a Bahuvrîhi), हे प्रियनड्वन् ॥

ॠत इद्धातोः ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ ॠतः, इत्, धातोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ॠकारान्तस्य धातोरङ्गस्य इकारादेशो भवति ॥

100. For the final long ॠ of a root, there is substituted इर् (I. 1. 51).

As किरति, गिरति from कॄ and गॄ of the Tudâdi class. आस्तीर्णम् विस्तीर्णम् from स्तॄ, the lengthening by VIII. 2. 77. Why do we say of a root? Observe पितॄणाम्, मातॄणाम् ॥

This substitution will apply to Derivative roots also, as चिकीर्षति from कॄ 'to scatter'.

उपधायाश्च ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपधायाः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपधायाश्च ॠकारस्य इकारादेशो भवति ॥

101. इर् is also substituted for the penultimate long ॠ of a root.

As कीर्तयति, कीर्तयतः, कीर्तयन्ति; from कॄत् ॥ Lengthening by VIII. 2. 77.

उदोष्ठ्यपूर्वस्य ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ उत्, ओष्ठ्य, पूर्वस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ओष्ठ्यः पूर्वो यस्मात् ॠकारात्तस्मादोष्ठ्यपूर्वस्तदन्तस्य धातोरङ्गस्य उकारादेशो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ इत्वोत्वाभ्यां गुणवृद्धी भवतो विप्रतिषेधेन ॥

102. उर् is substituted for the final long ॠ of a root, when it is preceded by a labial consonant belonging to the root.

As पूर्त and पुपूर्षति from पॄ, so also मुमूर्षति ॥ The lengthening is by VIII. 2. 77. The rule applies when the dento-labial व precedes: as वुवूर्षति ऋत्विजम् from वॄ; so also प्रावुवूर्षति कम्बलम् ॥ The labial consonant must be the consonant of the root. Therefore when ॠ 'to go' is preceded by सम्, the rule will not apply, for म् is not part of the root: as समीर्णम् by VII. 1. 100.

Vârt:—The Guṇa and Vṛiddhi do take place in supersession of इर् and उर् substitution. Thus आस्तरणम् and आस्तारकः (from स्तॄ with ल्युट् and ण्वुल्), निपरणम्, निपारकः from पॄ, निगरणम्, निगारकः from गॄ ॥

बहुलं छन्दसि ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुलम्, छन्दसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये ॠकारान्तस्य धातोरङ्गस्य बहुलमुकारादेशो भवति ॥

103. In the Veda, the उर् substitution for ॠ of a root-stem is diverse.

That is, it takes place even when the preceding letter is not labial, and does not take place even when the letter is labial. Thus मित्रा वरुणौ ततुरिः, दूरे ह्यध्वा जगुरिः, पप्रितमम् (no change), and पपुरिः, from तॄ, गॄ and पॄ ॥ All these words ततुरि, जगुरि and पप्रि are formed by the affix किन् (III. 1. 171).

ओ३म् ।

अथ सप्तमाध्यायस्य द्वितीयः पादः ।

BOOK SEVENTH.

CHAPTER SECOND.

सिचि वृद्धिः परस्मैपदेषु ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ सिचि, वृद्धिः, परस्मैपदेषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परस्मैपदे परे सिचि परत इगन्तस्याङ्गस्य वृद्धिर्भवति ॥

1. Before the Aorist-characteristic स् (सिच्), Vṛiddhi is substituted in the Parasmaipada, for the final of a stem ending in इ, उ, ऋ (long or short, I. 1. 3).

The word इक् is to be read into this sûtra by virtue of I. 1. 3. As अचैषीत्, अनैषीत्, अलावीत्, अपावीत्, अकार्षीत्, अहार्षीत् (VII. 3. 96 and VIII. 2. 28) The antaranga guṇa substitution is superseded by the express mention of Vṛiddhi. If the antaranga guṇa is superseded by this vṛiddhi, why is not the antaranga उवङ् also superseded in न्यनुवीत्, न्यधुवीत्? The Vṛiddhi does not take place, as these roots belong to कुटादि class, after which this affix is ङित् (I. 2. 1). The Vṛiddhi being thus superseded, we have उवङ् substitution. Why do we say in the Parasmaipada? Observe अच्योष्ट, अप्लोष्ट ॥

अतो ल्रान्तस्य ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ अतः, ल्रान्तस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रेफलकारौ यावतः समीपौ तदन्तस्याङ्गस्य अत एव स्थाने वृद्धिर्भवति ॥

2. Vṛiddhi is substituted for the short अ, when it is immediately followed by the final र् or ल् of a root, before the Parasmaipada s-Aorist.

As क्षर्—अक्षारीत्, त्सर्—अत्सारीत्, ज्वल्—अज्वालीत्, ह्मल्—अह्मालीत् ॥ This debars the option of VII. 2. 7. Why 'short अ'? Observe न्यखारीत न्यमीलीत् ॥ Why do we say "ending in र or ल"? Observe मा भवानश्रीत्, मा भवानटीत् ॥ The word अन्त means here 'proximity', as in the sentence उदकान्तं गतः = उदकसमीपं गतः ॥ The अ must be in the proximity of the र and ल ॥ Therefore the rule does not apply to अवभ्रीत्, अश्वल्हीत्, for though र and ल are here *final* of the stem, yet are not in the proximity of अ ॥

वदव्रजहलन्तस्याचः ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वद, व्रज, हलन्तस्य, अचः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वदव्रजोर्हलन्तानां चाङ्गानामचः स्थाने वृद्धिर्भवति सिचि परस्मैपदे परतः ॥

3. In the Parasmaipada s-Aorist there is Vṛiddhi of the अ of वद्, व्रज्, and of any vowel, without distinction, of the stems ending in a consonant.

As अवादीत्, अव्राजीत् ॥ This debars the option in the case of these two roots, which would have otherwise obtained by VII. 2. 7. So also of stems ending in consonants: as अपाक्षीत्, अभैत्सीत्, अच्छैत्सीत्, अरौत्सीत् ॥ By the splitting up of the sûtra (yoga-vibhaga) these forms could be evolved without using the word हलन्त in the sûtra. Thus (1) वदिव्रज्योः "In the room of the अ of वद् and व्रज् there is Vṛiddhi". (2) अचः "In the room of the vowel of the stem there is Vṛiddhi". The word "stem" is understood throughout these chapters. If the vowel be at the *end* of the stem, there would be Vṛiddhi by VII. 2. 1, and if in the *middle* of the stem, then the verb *ends* with a *consonant*, and still there will be Vṛiddhi by our rule. The use of the word हलन्त in the sûtra indicates that the rule applies when more than one consonant even is at the end: as अराङ्क्षीत्, अभाङ्क्षीत् ॥

Had the word हलन्तस्य not been used in the sûtra, then the following maxim would have applied "येन नाव्यवधानं तेन व्यवहितेऽपि वचनप्रामाण्यात्" ॥ The rule would have applied where only *one* consonant intervened between the vowel and the affix, but not when more than one consonant intervened. But it is intended that the rule should apply to such cases also.

The form उदवोढाम् is thus evolved. To the root वह् we add सिच् in the second Person singular. Thus वह्+स्ताम् ॥ Now there appears the Vṛiddhi rule on the one side; and the rule requiring the change of ह to ढ (VIII. 2. 31) the rule requiring the elision of स् (VIII. 2. 26), the rule requiring the change of त into ध (VIII. 2. 40), then the rule requiring the change of ध into ढ, and then the elision of one ढ (VIII. 3. 13) on the other. What rule is to be applied first—the Vṛiddhi or the other rules? The Vṛiddhi rule is to be applied first, because the other rules are considered as asiddha (VIII. 2. 1): and after that we apply the other rules: and afterwards on account of the elsion of ढ, we change the Vṛiddhi आ into ओ (VI. 3. 112). The equation will be something like this:—वह्+स्ताम=वाह्+स्ताम् (VII. 2. 3)=वाढ्+स्ताम् (VIII. 2. 31)=वाढ्+ताम् (VIII. 2. 26)=वाढ्+धाम् (VIII. 2. 80)=वाढ्+ढाम् (VIII. 4. 41)=वा+ढाम् (VIII. 3. 13)=वोढाम् (VI. 3. 112). This with the upasarga उत् and the augment अ becomes उदवोढाम् ॥ Similar is the evolution of उदवोढम् with स्तम् ॥ Once the अ has been Vṛiddhied into आ, there is no Vṛiddhi of ओ ॥ Had we not first Vṛiddhied the वह् into वाह्, but applied the vṛiddhi rule last, then there would have been vṛiddhi of ओ, as वौढाम् which is wrong. In fact where there has not taken place vṛiddhi first, there ओ is vṛiddhied, as=सोढामित्रस्यापत्यं =सौढामित्रिः ॥

नेटि ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, इटि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इडादौ सिचि हलन्तस्याङ्गस्य वृद्धिर्न भवति ।

4. The vowel of a stem, ending in a consonant, does not get Vṛiddhi, when the सिच् takes the augment इट् ॥

As अदेवीत्, असेवीत्, अकोषीत्, अमोषीत्, but अलावीत् where the root ends in a vowel. Will not लू by taking Guṇa (which is an antaraṅga operation) and the substitution of अव्, become a root ending in a consonant? No, though Guṇa is antaraṅga, it is superseded by the express Vṛiddhi.

ह्मयन्तक्षणश्वसजागृणिश्व्येदिताम् ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ ह्, म, य्, अन्त, क्षण, श्वस, जागृ, णि, श्वि, एदिताम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हकारान्तानां मकारान्तानां यकारान्तानामङ्गानां क्षण श्वस जागृ णि श्वि इत्येतेषामेदितां च इडादौ सिचि परस्मैपदे परतो वृद्धिर्न भवति ।

5. The Vṛiddhi of the vowel of the following stems, does not take place before the इट् augment s-Aorist in the Parasmaipada; namely—the stems ending in ह्, म् or य्, the roots क्षण्, श्वस्, जागृ, a stem formed with णि, the root श्वि, and the roots having an indicatory ए in the Dhâtupâṭha.

Thus ग्रह, 'to catch' अग्रहीत्, स्यम, 'to sound' अस्यमीत्, व्यय, 'to expend' अव्ययीत्, टुवम, 'to vomit' अवमीत्, क्षण 'to hurt' अक्षणीत्, श्वस् 'to breathe' अश्वसीत्, जागृ 'to be awake' अजागरीत्, णि, ऊन (churÂdi) 'to lose' ऊनयीत्, ईल् 'to send' ईलयीत्, श्वि, अश्वयीत् ॥ एदिताम्, रगे 'to cover' अरगीत्. कखे, अकखीत् ॥

ह्मयन्तक्षणश्वसामेदितां च अतो हलादेर्लघोरिति विकल्पे प्राप्ते प्रतिषेधः ॥ जागृणिश्वीनां तु सिचि वृद्धिः प्राप्ता, सा च नेटीति न प्रतिषिध्यते, न चान्तरङ्गत्वाच्च पूर्वं गुणो भवति सिचि वृद्धेरनवकाशत्वात् ॥ यदि पूर्वं गुणः स्यादिह णिश्विग्रहणमनर्थकं स्यात् ॥ गुणायादेशयोः कृतयोर्यकारान्तत्वादेव प्रतिषेधस्य सिद्धत्वात् ॥ तस्मादिदमेव णिश्विग्रहणं ज्ञापकं न सिच्यन्तरङ्गमस्तीति ॥ अथ जागृग्रहणं किमर्थम् ॥ जाग्रो विचिण्णल्ङित्सु इति जागर्तेर्गुणो वृद्धेरपवादो विधीयते ॥ स यथा अचो ञ्णितीति वृद्धिं बाधते, तथा सिचि वृद्धिमपि बाधिष्यते ॥ नैतदस्ति ॥ कृते गुणे ऽतो ल्रान्तस्येति या वृद्धिः प्राप्नोति सा प्रतिषिध्यते, ॥ अथ गुणविधानसामर्थ्यादुत्तरकालभाविन्यपि वृद्धिर्बाध्यते, ॥ यथा जागरयतीत्यत्र अत उपधाया इत्यपि वृद्धिर्न भवति, तथा चिण्णलोः प्रतिषेधोऽर्थवान्भवति इति शक्यमिह जागृग्रहणमकर्त्तुम् ॥ क्रियते तु विस्पष्टार्थम् ॥

In the case of roots ऊन and ईल in the above examples, the चङ् is prohibited by III. 1. 51. This is an exception to VII. 2. 7: so far as stems in ह्, य् and म् are concerned. There is no option allowed here. In the case of जागृ, णि-roots, and श्वि, the Vṛiddhi would have taken place by VII. 1. 1; and VII. 1. 4, could not have debarred Vṛiddhi, hence the special mention of these roots.

Nor can it be said, in the case of these roots, that "they will take first guṇa, on account of its being an Antaranga operation", because, then the rule of Vṛiddhi ordained by VII. 1. 1 will find no scope. Moreover, if the guṇa

took place first and then Vṛiddhi, the mention of णि-roots and श्वि in the sûtra would be redundant. For in ऊनयीत् and अश्वयीत्, having gunated the roots ऊनि and श्वि to ऊने and श्वे, and then substituting अय् (which is also antaranga) for ए before ईत्, we have ऊनय्+ईत्, and श्वय्+ईत् ॥ Now these are roots which end in य् and would be covered by the first portion of the present sûtra, viz, "h-m-y-anta", so the especial mention of णि-roots and श्वि would be superfluous, if guṇa was to take place first. The very mention of णि-roots and श्वि in this sütra, is a jnâpaka (indicator) of the following maxim न सिचि अन्तरङ्गमस्ति ॥

Why have we used the root जागृ in the sûtra, when the special sûtra VII. 3. 85 will cause guṇa by superseding Vṛiddhi in the case of जागृ ? This supersession will take place on the analogy of अचोऽञ्णिति (VII. 2. 115); for as this vṛiddhi rule VII. 2. 115 is superseded by VII. 3. 85, so will the present Vṛiddhi rule VII. 2. 1. *Ans.* No, this is not so. No doubt VII. 3. 85 does supersede the vṛiddhi rule VII. 2. 1 and we have guṇa, as जागर्+ईत् ॥ Then comes in VII..2. 2, which would cause vṛiddhi, because now it is a root ending in र ; this second vṛiddhi is prohibited by the present sûtra. You can say, that by the very fact that the guṇa rule VII. 3. 85 takes effect, will prevent every future Vṛiddhi, as in जागरयति there is no penultimate vṛiddhi by VII. 2. 116 [जागृ+णि = जागर्+णि (VII. 3. 85) = जागरि the rule VII. 2. 116 does not apply after guna] You can, of course, say so, and there is no answer to this but by saying that the mention of जागृ is only for the sake of distinctness.

In case the reading of जागृ in the sûtra be held necessary, then the operations which it undergoes, are shown below :

जागृ+इस्+ईत् ॥ Now appears (1) the rule VI. 1. 77. requiring the change of ऋ into र ॥ (2) This यणादेश is however, debarred by the rule VII. 3. 84 which causes guṇa of the finals of verbal stems before all sârvadhâtuka and ârdhadhâtuka affixes, because this guṇa rule is an apavâda to यणादेश ॥ (3) But this guṇa in its turn is debarred by the rule VII. 2. 1 requiring the vṛiddhi. (4) But this vṛiddhi is, however, superseded by VII. 3. 85, which causes the guṇa of the final of जागृ ॥ Now having gunated it, we get this form :—

जागर्+इस्+ईत् ॥ Now appears VII. 2. 3 which requires vṛiddhi, because it is a root ending in a consonant. (2) But that vṛiddhi is superseded by VII. 2. 4 because the affix सिच् has taken the इट् augment. (3) Then appears the rule VII. 2. 7 requiring optional vṛiddhi, (4) But that optional vṛiddhi is superseded by the compulsory vṛiddhi requirred by VII. 2. 2, because it is a root ending in र ॥ (5) And this last vṛiddhi is prohibited by the present sûtra VII. 2. 5. These nine stages through which the form अजागरीत् is evolved, is abbreviated in the following mnemonic verse :—गुणो वृद्धि र्गुणो वृद्धिः प्रतिषेधो विकल्पनम् ॥ पुन वृद्धि र्निषेधोऽतो यण्पूर्वाः प्राप्तयो नव ॥

ऊर्णोतेर्विभाषा ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऊर्णोतेः, विभाषा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऊर्णोतेरिडादौ सिचि परस्मैपदपरे परतो विभाषा वृद्धिर्न भवति ।

6. Before an इट्-beginning s-Aorist of the Parasmaipada, there is optional Vṛiddhi of the vowel of ऊर्णु ॥

As प्रौर्णावीत् or प्रौर्णवीत् ॥ This option applies when the सिच् is not treated as ङित् ॥ But after ऊर्णु, सिच् is optionally ङित्, (I. 2. 6): when it is ङित्, there being neither guṇa nor vṛiddhi; we have उवङ् substitution, as प्रौर्णुवीत् (VI. 4. 77).

अतो हलादेर्लघोः ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अतः, हल् आदेः, लघोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हलादेरङ्गस्य लघोरकारस्य इडादौ सिचि परस्मैपदपरे परतो विभाषा वृद्धिर्न भवति ।

7. Before an इट्-beginning s-Aorist of the Parasmaipada, the short अ of the root gets optionally Vṛiddhi, when the stem begins with a consonant, and the अ is prosodially short by being followed by a simple consonant.

Thus अकणीत् or अकाणीत्, अरणीत् or अराणीत् ॥ Why do we say 'of अ'? Observe अवेवीत्, असेवीत् ॥ Besides this patent objection, there is another, not so manifest. If we had not taken अतः, the sûtra would have ordained Vṛiddhi of every *vowel* (अचः VII. 2. 3), the Vṛiddhi so ordained would be an अच् pertaining Vṛiddhi, and not an इक्-pertaining Vṛiddhi. Therefore ङित् affixes will not debar such Vṛiddhi, for the क्ङिति च (I. 1. 5), debars only इग्लक्षणा Vṛiddhi. Therefore कुटादि roots after which सिच् is ङित् (I. 2. 1), will get Vṛiddhi, which is not desired. Therefore we have only one form of न्यकुटीत्, न्यपुटीत् ॥

Why do we say 'beginning with a consonant'? Observe मा भवानक्षीत्, मा भवानदीत् from अक्ष् and अद् ॥ Why do we say 'prosodially short'? Observe अतक्षीत्, अरक्षीत् ॥

But why does not vṛiddhi take place in अचकासीत् from the root चकास् (Ad. 65)? The vṛiddhi does not take place on the maxim येन ना व्यवधानं तेन व्यवहितेऽपि वचन प्रामाण्यात्; for the rule applies to short अ only when a consonant intervenes between it and the affix, and not when both consonants and vowels intervene. In चकास् not only the consonants क् and स् intervene but also the vowel आ ॥ Hence there is no vṛiddhi. Moreover, the व्यवधान can be by one letter and not by more than one letter. Therefore, applying this maxim, the word लघोः might have been omitted from the sûtra without any detriment. In that case, the form अतक्षीत् from the root तक्ष (Bhu 685) will be explained by saying that rule VII. 2. 7 does not apply to it, because *two* consonants intervene between अ and the affix. In this view of the case, the employment of the word लघोः in the sûtra is for the sake of distinctness only.

The word इट् is understood in this sûtra, so that the rule applies to सेट् aorist. The rule therefore, does not apply to Aniṭ aorist, as अपाक्षीत् ॥

The form अपिपठिषीत् the aorist of the Desiderative root, is explained by saying that the long आ of vṛiddhi is elided by VI. 4. 64.

नेड्वशि कृति ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, इट्, वशि, कृति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वशादौ कृति प्रत्यये परत इडागमो न भवति ।

8. The augment इट् is not added to a kṛit-affix beginning with a sonant consonant (वश् pratyâhâra).

The वश् pratayâhâra is rather vague. The rule really applies to Kṛit-affixes beginning with व, र (ल) म and न, and no कृत् affix begins with any other letter of वश् class. Thus ईशिता, ईशितुम् non-vaś letters get the augment, but not ईश्वरः, (III. 2. 175) so also दीपिता, दीपितुम् but not दीप्रम् (III. 2. 167 र) भसिता, भसितुम् but not भस्म, (III. 2. 75. मनिन्) यतिता, यतितुम् but not यत्नः (III. 3. 90 नङ्) The Vârtika नेड् वरमनादौ कृति gives the rule in a more definite form. Of course, in the Uṇâdi Kṛit-affixes, there is diversity. There we get the affix ड, for example, which of course does not take the augment, as दम्+ड=दण्डः (Uṇ I. 113). Why do we say कृत् affixes? Observe रुदिव, रुदिम ॥

Here by VII. 2. 76 the Sârvadhâtuka affixes beginning with a वल् consonant take इट् augment after the roots रुद् &c ; but this इट् will also be prohibited by the present sûtra, if the word कृति be not read in the sûtra. So that rule VII. 2. 76 would find scope before those वलादि affixes only which do not begin with a वश् letter; as रुदितः ॥ In some texts of Kâsika the counter-example is रुरुदिम in the Perfect. This is wrong, according to Padamnjari (क्रादिनियमादेव इटः सिद्धत्वात्) because इट् always comes in the Perfect except after the root कृ &c. (VII. 2. 13): so the counter-example from the Perfect Tense is not valid. This sûtra is an exception to VII. 2. 35. The Kṛit-affixes beginning with वश् letters as given by Pâṇini are the following: वन् (वनिप्, क्वनिप्, ङ्वनिप्), वर (वरच and क्वरप्), वस् (क्वसु), रु (क्रु), लुक् (क्लुकन्), मन् (मनिन्), मर (क्मरच्) न (नङ्, नन्), नज् (नजिङ्), नु (क्नु) ॥ This list will show the truth of the above vârtika.

तितुत्रतथसिसुसरकसेषु च ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ ति, तु, त्र, त, थ, सि, सु, सर, क, सेषु, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ति तु त्र त थ सि सु सर क स इत्येतेषु कृत्सु इडागमो न भवति ।

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ तितुत्रेषु अग्रहादीनाम् इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

9. The इट् augment is not taken by the following Kṛit-affixes :—ति, तु, त्र, त, थ, सि, सु, सर, क and स ॥

Thus (1) क्तिच्—तन्तिः but तनिता, तनितुम्, क्तिन्—दीप्तिः but दीपिता, दीपितुम् ॥ (2) तुन् (Uṇ I. 70)—सक्तुः but साचिता, साचितुम् ॥ (3) ष्ट्रन् (III. 2. 182)—पत्त्रं but पतिता, पतितुम्, so also Uṇâdi ष्ट्रन् (Uṇ IV. 158), as तन्त्रम् from तन् ॥ (4) तन् (Uṇ III. 86)—हस्तः but हसिता, हसितुम् ; so also लोतः, पोतः, धूर्त्तः from लू, पू, धूर्वि forming सेट् लविता, पविता, धूर्विता ॥ The त affix mentioned in the sûtra refers to this Uṇâdi त (Uṇ III. 86), and not to the त (क्त) of Nishṭhâ, for the Nishṭhâ त takes the augment, as हसितम् ॥ (5) क्थन् (Uṇ II. 2)—कुष्ठम् but कोषिता, कोषितुम्, काष्ठम् but काशिता, काशितुम् ॥ (6) क्सि (Uṇ III. 155), as कुक्षिः but कोषिता, कोषितुम् ॥ (7) क्सु (Uṇ III. 157)—इक्षुः but एषिता, एषितुम् ; (8) सरन् (Uṇ III. 70)—अक्षरम्,

but भशिता, अशितुम् ॥ (9) कन् (Uṇ III. 43)—शल्कः but शलिता, शलितुम् ॥ (10) स (Uṇ III. 62)—वत्सः but वदिता, वदितुम् ॥

Vârt:—The affix ति, तु and त्र take इट् augment after ग्रह् and words of similar formations:—as विगृहीतिः, उपस्निहितिः, निकुचिति निपाठितिः ॥

Before non-kṛit ति &c, we have इट्, as रोदिति, स्वपिति ॥

एकाच उपदेशेऽनुदात्तात् ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ एकाचः, उपदेशे, अनुदात्तात्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपदेशे य एकाच् धातुरनुदात्तश्च तस्मादिडागमो न भवति ।

10. The augment इट् is not added to that affix which is joined to a root, which in the Grammatical system of Instruction (i. e. in the Dhâtupâṭha) is of one syllable, and is without accent (anudâtta).

A list of such roots has been collected by the *Anit—Kârikâ.* They are given below.

Kârikâ:—अनिट्स्वरान्तो भवतीति दृश्यतामिमांस्तु सेटः प्रवदन्ति तद्विदः ।
अदन्तमृदन्तमृतां च वृङ्वृञौ श्विडीङिवर्णेष्वथ शीङ्श्रिञावपि ॥
गणस्थमूदन्तमुतां च रुस्नुवौ क्षुवन्तयोर्णोतिमथो युणुक्ष्णवः ।
इति स्वरान्ता निपुणैः समुच्चितास्ततो हलन्तानपि सन्निबोधतः ॥

As a general rule all monosyllabic roots ending in a *vowel* except अ, long ऊ and long ॠ are anudâtta, and do not take इट् augment: as दातृ, नेतृ, चेतृ, स्तोतृ, कर्तृ, हर्तृ ॥ The following are the exceptions:—

(1) All roots ending in short अ are Udâtta and take इट्; as अवधिष्ट ॥

(2) All roots ending in long ॠ are सेट्, as तॄ—तरिता or तरीता ॥

(3) All roots ending in short ऋ are अनिट् except वृङ् (IX. 38 the references are to the class and number in the Dhâtupâṭha) and वृञ् (V. 8, X. 271): as निर्वरिता or निर्वरीता, प्रवरिता or प्रवरीता ॥

(4) All roots in short इ are Aniṭ, except श्वि (I. 1059), 'to grow' and श्रिञ् 'to attend' (I. 945), as श्वयिता, श्रयिता ॥

(5) All roots in long ई are Aniṭ, except शीङ् 'to rest' (II. 22), and डीङ् 'to fly' (I. 1017. IV. 27), as शयिता, उड्डयिता ॥

(6) All roots in long ऊ are सेट्, as लविता, पविता from लू and पू ॥

(7) All monosyllabic roots in short उ are Aniṭ, except, रुङ् 'to sound' (II. 24, I. 1008), स्नु 'to flow' (II. 29), क्षु 'to sound' (II. 27), यु 'to mix' (II. 23) नु 'to praise' (II. 26), क्ष्णु 'to sharpen', (II. 28); and ऊर्णुञ् 'to cover' (II. 30, though consisting of more than one syllable, is treated like नु for the purposes of यङ्) ॥ Thus रविता, प्रस्नविता, क्षविता, यविता, नविता, क्ष्णविता and प्रोर्णविता ॥

Of the roots ending in consonants, all are सेट् except the following:—

Kârikâ:—इति स्वरान्ता निपुणैः समुच्चितास्ततो हलन्तानपि सन्निबोधत ।
शक्लिस्तु कान्तेष्वनिडेक इष्यते घसिश्च सान्तेषु वसिः प्रसारणी ॥
रभिस्तु भान्तेष्वथ मैथुने यभिस्ततस्तृतीयो लभिरेव नेतरे ॥

यमिर्यमन्तेष्वनिडेक इष्यते रमिश्च यश्च श्यनि पठ्यते मनिः ।
नमिश्चतुर्थो हनिरेव पञ्चमो गमिश्च षष्ठः प्रतिषेधवाचिनाम् ॥
दिहिर्दुहिर्मेहतिरोहती वहिर्नहिस्तु षष्ठो दहतिस्तथा लिहिः ।
इमेऽनिटोऽष्टाविह मुक्तसंशया गणेषु हान्ताः प्रविभज्य कीर्त्तिताः ॥
दिशिं दृशिं दंशिमथो मृशिं स्पृशिं रिशिं रुशिं क्रोशतिमष्टमं विशिम् ।
लिशं च शान्ताननिटः पुराणगाः पठन्ति पाठेषु दशैव नेतरान् ॥
रुधिः सराधिर्युधिबन्धिसाधयः क्रुधिक्षुधी शुध्यतिबुध्यती व्यधिः ।
इमे तु धान्ता दश येऽनिटो मतास्ततः परं सिध्यतिरेव नेतरे ॥
शिषिं पिषिं शुष्यतिपुष्यती त्विषिं विषिं श्लिषिं तुष्यतिदुष्यती द्विषिम् ।
इमान्दशैवोपदिशन्त्यनिड्विधौ गणेषु षान्तान्कृषिकर्षती तथा ॥
तपिं तिपिं चापिमथो वपिं स्वपिं लिपिं लुपिं तृप्यति दृप्यती सृपिम् ।
स्वरेण नीचेन शपिं छुपिं क्षिपिं प्रतीहि पान्तान्पठितांस्त्रयोदश ॥
अदिं हदिं स्कन्दिभिदिच्छिदिक्षुदीन् शदिं सदिं स्विद्यतिपद्यती खिदिम् ।
तुदिं नुदिं विद्यतिविन्त इत्यपि प्रतीहि दान्तान्दश पञ्च चानिटः ॥
पचिं वचिं विचिरिचिरञ्जिपृच्छतीन् निजिं सिचिं मुचिभजिभञ्जिभृज्जतीन् ।
त्यजिं यजिं युजिरुजिसञ्जिमज्जतीन् भुजिं स्वजिं सृजिमृजी विद्ध्यनिट्स्वरान् ॥

(1.) क्—शक् 'to be able' (IV. 78, V. 15). शक्ता, शक्ष्यति

(2.) स्—घस् 'to eat' (I. 747, and also substitute of अद्), as, घस्ता ; वस् 'to dwell' (I. 1054), as वस्ता ॥ The वस् which takes Samprasâraṇa by VI. 1. 15, is meant here, and not वस् 'to cover' (II. 13), which does not vocalise, as वासिता वस्त्राणाम्, but उषितः from वस 'to dwell' (VII. 2. 52).

(3.) भ्—Three roots: रभ् 'to desire' (I. 1023), as, आरब्धा, यभ् coire (I. 1029), यब्धा, लभ् 'to take' (I. 1024), लब्धा ॥

(4.) म्—Four roots, यम् 'to cease' (I. 1033), यन्ता ; रम् 'to play' (I. 906) रन्ता, नम् 'to bow' (I.867, 1030) नन्ता, गम्लृ 'to go' (I. 1031) गन्ता ॥

5. न्—Two roots मन् 'to think' (IV. 67), मन्ता, हन् 'to kill' (II. 2), हन्ता ॥ The Divâdi मन् should be taken, otherwise मनिता from मन्—मनुते (VIII. 9).

(6.) ह्—Eight roots :—दिह् 'to smear' (II. 5), देग्धा ; दुह् 'to milk' (II. 4), दोग्धा ; मिह् 'to sprinkle' (I. 1041) मीढा, रुह् 'to grow' (I. 912) रोढा ; वह् 'to carry' (I. 1053) वोढा, नह् 'to bind' (IV. 57) नद्धा; दह् 'to burn' (I. 1041) दग्धा, लिह् 'to lick' (II. 6) लेढा ॥ In other collections सह् (I. 905, IV. 20), मुह् (IV. 89), रिह (VI. 23), लुह् (?), are also enumerated ; of these सह् takes इट् optionally before affixes beginning with त, so also मुह् because it belongs to the class of रधादि (VII. 2. 45) the other two are not found (?) in root-collections, hence the Kârika uses the words मुक्तसंशयः ॥

(7.) श्—Ten roots :—दिश् 'to show' (VI. 3), दृश् 'to see' (I. 1037), दंश् 'to bite' (I. 1038), मृश् 'to rub' (VI. 131), स्पृश् 'to touch' (VI. 128), रिश (VI. 126), रुश् (VI. 126) both meaning 'to hurt', विश् 'to enter' (VI. 130), लिश् 'to be small' (IV. 70, VI. 127). As देष्टा, द्रष्टा, दंष्टा, आम्रष्टा or आमर्ष्टा, स्प्रष्टा or स्पर्ष्टा, The roots with a penultimate ऋ short, which are anudâtta in the dhâtupâṭha, with th exception of सृज् and दृश्, take optionally the augment अम् (VI. 1. 59), ॥ रेष्टा, रोष्टा, क्रोष्टा, प्रवेष्टा, लेष्टा ॥

(8.) ध् – Ten roots:—रुध् with अनु, 'to love'. रुध् 'to obstruct' (IV.65) रोद्धा. राध् 'to accomplish' (IV. 71, V. 16) राद्धा ; युध् 'to fight' (IV. 64) योद्धा; बन्ध् 'to bind' (I. 1022), बन्द्धा ; साध् 'to accomplish' (V. 17) साद्धा ; क्रुध् 'to be angry' (IV. 80) क्रोद्धा, क्षुध् 'to be hungry' (IV. 81) क्षोद्धा ; शुध् 'to be pure' (IV. 82) शोद्धा, बुध् 'to be aware' (IV. 63) बोद्धा ; व्यध् 'to pierce' (IV. 72) व्यद्धा ; सिध् 'to be accomplished' (IV. 83) सेद्धा ॥ The roots बुध् and सिध् are exhibited in the above Kârikâ with श्यण् vikarana (बुध्यति, सिध्यति); therefore बुध् and सिध् take इट् in other ganas than the Fourth ; as बोधिता and सेधिता ॥ There being want of prohibition with regard to निष्ठा, we have बुधितं and सिधितं ॥

(9.) ष्-roots. Ten. शिष् 'to distinguish' (VII, 14) शेष्टा ; पिष् 'to pound' (VII. 15) पेष्टा, शुष् 'to become dry' (IV. 74) शोष्टा ; पुष् 'to be nourished' (IV. 73), पोष्टा, त्विष् 'to shine' (I. 1050) त्वेष्टा, विष् 'to pervade, to sprinkle' (I. 729, III. 13, IX. 54) वेष्टा, श्लिष् 'to embrace' (I. 734. IV. 77) श्लेष्टा ; तुष् 'to be satisfied' (IV. 75) तोष्टा, दुष् 'to be sinful' (IV. 76) दोष्टा. दोक्ष्यति, द्विष् 'to hate' (II. 3) द्वेष्टा, द्वेक्ष्यति, कृष् 'to draw' (I. 1059, VI. 6 both Bhuâdi and Tudâdi are taken, as the kârikâ uses the two forms), आक्रष्टा and आकर्ष्टा ॥

(10.) प्–Thirteen roots : तप् 'to burn' (I. 1034, IV. 51) तप्ता, तप्स्यति, तिप् 'to distil' (I. 385) तेप्ता, आप् 'to obtain' (V 14, X. 295) आप्ता; वप् 'to sow' (I. 1052) वप्ता; स्वप् 'to sleep' (II. 59) स्वप्ता; लिप् 'to anoint' (VI. 139) लेप्ता; लुप् (VI. 137) 'to break', लोप्ता ॥ The roots तृप् and दृप् optionally take इट्, as they belong to रधादि class (VII. 2. 45, Divâdi 84–91). The special mention of these two roots in the kârikâ, is for the sake of indicating that these roots take अम् augment ; as त्रप्ता or तर्प्ता, or तर्पिता; द्रप्ता, or दर्प्ता or दर्पिता ॥ The तृप् and दृप् belonging to Tudâdi class, are Udâtta and सेट् ॥ सृप् (I. 1032) 'to creep' स्रप्ता, सर्प्ता; शप् 'to curse' (I. 1049) शप्ता ; छुप् 'to touch' (VI. 125) छोप्ता ; क्षिप् 'to throw' (IV. 14) क्षेप्ता ॥

(11.) द्–Fifteen roots. अद् 'to eat' [II. 1] अत्ता; हद् 'to void excrement' (I. 1026) हत्ता; स्कन्द् 'to leap' (I. 1028) स्कन्ता; भिद् 'to break' (VII. 2) भेत्ता, छिद् 'to cut' (VII. 3) छेत्ता; क्षुद् 'to pound' (VII. 6) क्षोत्ता, क्षोत्स्यति, शद् 'to perish' (I. 908, VI. 134) शत्ता, सद् 'to sink' (I. 907, VI. 133) सत्ता, स्विद् 'to sweat' (IV. 79) स्वेत्ता ॥ The root is exhibited as स्विद्यति in the above kârikâ, showing that the Fourth class root is to be taken, and not the Bhuâdi (I. 780), which is udâtta and takes इट् ॥ पद् 'to go' (IV. 60), पत्ता ; खिद् 'to be troubled' (IV. 61, VI. 142, VII. 12) खेत्ता, तुद् 'to strike' (VI. 1) तोत्ता ; नुद् 'to impel' (VI. 2) नोत्ता; विद् (IV. 62) वेत्ता ॥ The root विद् is exhibited in the kârikâ, as विद्यति and विन्त, therefore, the rule applies to दिवादि and रुधादि विद् ॥ The Adâdi (वेत्ति) and Tudâdi (विन्दति) विद् is सेट्, as वेदिता विद्यानाम्, वेदिताधनस्य ॥

(12.) च्–six roots :—पच् 'to cook' (I. 187) पक्ता, पक्ष्यति ; वच् 'to speak' (II. 54) वक्ता, विच् 'to separate' (VII. 5) विवेक्ता ; रिच् 'to make empty' (VII. 4) रेक्ता; सिच् 'to sprinkle' (VI. 140) सेक्ता; मुच् (VI. 136) 'to loose' मोक्ता ॥

(13.) छ्-One root प्रछ् 'to ask' (VI. 120) प्रष्टा, प्रक्ष्यति ॥

(14.) ज्-Fifteen roots :—रञ्ज् 'to colour' (I. 865. 1048) रङ्क्ता; निज् 'to cleanse' (III. 11) निर्णेक्ता, नेक्ष्यति ; भज् 'to honor' (I. 1047) भक्ता; भञ्ज् 'to break' (VII. 16) भङ्क्ता; भ्रस्ज् 'to fry' (I. 181) भ्रष्टा or भर्ष्टा; त्यज् 'to quit' (I. 1035) त्यक्ता; यज् 'to sacrifice' (I. 1051) यष्टा, युज् 'to join' (IV. 68, VII. 7) योक्ता; रुज् 'to break' (VI. 123) रोक्ता; सञ्ज् 'to adhere' (I. 1036) सङ्क्ता, मस्ज to be immersed' (VI. 122) मङ्क्ता; भुज् 'to bend' (VI. 124) 'to enjoy' (VII. 17). भोक्ता, स्वज् 'to embrace' (I. 1025) परि-ष्वक्ता; सृज 'to emit' 'to create' (IV. 69, VI. 121) स्रष्टा; मृज् 'to cleanse' (I. 269, II. 57), मार्ष्टा, मार्जिता ॥ The root मृज् is exhibited in the Dhâtupâṭha with a long indicatory ऊ, e-s, मृजू शुद्धौ (II. 57). It, therefore, optionally would take इट् ॥ Nor does this root take अम् augment. The inclusion of this root in the above list is, therefore, questionable. Others read विज instead of मृज ॥ The निजादि root विज is Aniṭ (III. 12) i. e. विज् 'to separate' the विज् of Rudhâdi takes इट् ॥

Why do we say "a monosyllabic root"? Observe अवधीत् ॥ The root is taught as वध with a final अ (II. 4. 42) in order to prevent vṛiddhi. Why do we say "in upadeśa or Dhâtupâṭha"?

The rule will not apply to roots which have become anudâtta during evolution i. e. when taking affixes. Therefore, we have पचिष्यति and लविष्यति with इट्, but not here, कर्ता कृटान्, कर्तुम् ॥

श्र्युकः किति ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ श्री, उकः, किति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्रि इत्येतस्योगन्तानां च किति प्रत्यये परत इडागमो न भवति ।

Kârikâ :—वाच्य ऊर्णोर्णुवद्भावो यङ्प्रसिद्धिः प्रयोजनम् । आमश्च प्रतिषेधार्थमेकाचश्चेडुपग्रहात् ॥

11. The augment इट् is not added to an affix having an indicatory क्, when it comes after the root श्रि, or after a monosyllabic root ending in उ, ऊ, ऋ or ॠ in the Dhâtupâṭha.

As श्रित्वा, श्रितः, श्रितवान् ॥ So also with roots ending in उक् vowels: as युत्वा, युतः, युतवान् ; लूत्वा, लूनः, लूनवान् ; वृत्वा, वृतः, वृतवान् ; तीर्त्वा, तीर्णः, तीर्णवान् ॥

Why 'श्रि and उक् ending roots only'? Observe विदितः ॥ Why having an indicatory क्? Observe श्रयितृ, श्रयितुम्, श्रयितव्यम् ॥ Some read two क's in the sûtra and would apply it to the indicatory ग् also, as भूष्णु (III. 2. 139).

This rule applies to those roots, which have not been enumerated above. In the case of यु the Nishṭhâ will not take इट् even by VII. 2. 49 read with VII. 2. 15.

When two क are read in the sûtra, one standing for ग्; there arises a little difficulty of combination. Thus ग् coming after the visarga of उकः would require that the visarga be changed to उ by VI. 1. 114. If ग् be changed to क् (VIII. 4. 55) then also, the visarga required to be changed into upadhmanîya by VIII. 3. 37. If the change of ग् into क् (VIII. 4. 55) be considered asiddha

(VIII. 2. 1.), then also the visarga must be changed to उ (VI. 1. 114), and the sûtra should be श्र्युकोक्किति ॥ This, however, is not done as an anomaly allowable in sûtra construction. According to Kâsikâ, this difficulty would not at all arise, if in the sûtra ग्लाजिस्थश्चक्स्नु (III. 2. 139), the स्था + आ be taken as compounded into स्था; so that that rule would apply to that स्था which ends in आ, and not to that स्था whose final is changed to ई; so that the form स्थास्नुः is evolved without anomaly : and the affix will be कित् (क्स्नु) and not गित् (ग्स्नु). The affix being कित्, the above sandhi difficulty will not arise at all.

The word उपदेश is understood here also, so that the rule will apply to roots which end in उक् vowel, in their original states and not to the transformed base before the affix. Thus तॄ is a उक्-ending root, which is transformed to तीर् before the Nishṭhâ त ॥ The rule will apply to it, as तीर्णः ॥ If you object saying, that तॄ ends in long ॠ and its Desiderative optionally takes इट् by VII. 2. 41, and therefore, its Nishṭhâ will always take no इट् by VII. 2. 15. we reply, that the option taught in VII. 2. 41 applies to roots ending in long ॠ; but when the root vowel is changed to ई, it is no longer a ॠ-ending root. If you say, the rule of sthânivad bhâva will apply : we say, that that rule is not applicable to अल् विधि, and this is an अल्विधि ॥ Therefore, the word उपदेश should be read into this sûtra. If this be so, the rule ought to apply to जागृ, and we could not get the forms जागरितः and जागरितवान् ॥ To explain this we should also read the anuvṛitti of एकाच् into this sûtra. The root ऊर्णु, however is an exception and is governed by this rule, in spite of its consisting of more than one vowel. Thus प्रोर्णुतः and प्रोर्णुतवान् ॥

Kârikâ :—ऊर्णु is treated as if it was नु, when the affix यङ् is to be applied, आम् is to be prohibited, or इट् is to be debarred.

सनि ग्रहगुहोश्च ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सनि, ग्रह, गुहोः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ग्रह गुह इत्येतयोरुगन्तानां च सनि प्रत्यये परत इडागमो न भवति ।

12. The Desiderative affix सन् does not get the augment इट्, not only after roots ending in उ, ऊ, ऋ and ॠ, but also after ग्रह and गुह ॥

As जिघृक्षति, जुघुक्षति, रुरूषति, लुलूषति ॥ The anuvṛitti of श्रि is not drawn into this sûtra, as option is allowed regarding it by VII. 2. 49. ग्रह would always get इट्, गुह् (I. 944) being ऊदित् (in the Dhâtupâṭha), would have optionally taken इट् (VII. 2. 44)

The forms जिघृक्षति and जुघुक्षति are thus evolved :—ग्रह् + सन् (the affix is कित् by I. 2. 8) = गृह् + सन् (VI. 1. 16) = गृढ् + सन् (VIII. 2. 31) = गृक् + सन् (VIII. 2. 41) = जिघृक्षति (VIII. 2. 37). So also with गुहू संवरणे, the सन् is कित् here by I. 2. 10.

कृसृभृवृस्तुद्रुस्रुश्रुवो लिटि ॥१३॥ पदानि ॥ कृ, सृ, भृ, वृ, स्तु, द्रु, स्रु, श्रुवः, लिटि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृ सृ भृ वृ स्तु द्रु स्रु श्रु इत्येतेषां लिटि प्रत्यये इडागमो न भवति ।
वार्त्तिकम ॥ क्रसुट इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

13. The Personal endings of the Perfect do not get the augment इट्, after कृ, सृ, भृ, वृ, स्तु, द्रु, स्रु, श्रु ॥

Thus कृ—चकृव, चकृम ; सृ, ससृव, ससृम ; भृ, बभृव, बभृम ; वृञ्, ववृव, ववृम ; वृङ्, ववृवहे, ववृमहे ; स्तु, तुष्टुव, तुष्टुम ; द्रु, दुद्रुव, दुद्रुम ; स्रु; सुस्रुव, सुस्रुम ; श्रु; शुश्रुव, शुश्रुम ॥ सिद्धे सत्यारम्भो नियमार्थः, क्रादय एव लिट्यनिटस्ततोन्ये सेट इति ॥

These roots with the exception of वृ are Aniṭ by rule VII. 2. 10; their special mention here is for the sake of niyama, namely, these roots alone are Aniṭ in the Perfect, other roots are all Seṭ in the Perfect. Thus बिभिदिव, बिभिदिम, लुलुविव, लुलुविम ॥ All anudâtta roots of the Dhâtupâṭha are to be understood, by this rule, to get इट् ॥ The affix थ of the Perfect gets इट् after वृञ्, as the irregular form ववर्थ in VII. 2. 64, indicates that in the Veda, थ does not get इट् after वृञ्, but in the secular literature it does. By VII. 2. 63, the थ would have got इट् after स्तु, द्रु, स्रु and श्रु ; that इट् is also prohibited by the present sûtra. As तुष्टोथ, दुद्रोथ, सुस्रोथ, शुश्रोथ ॥

Vârt :—इट् is added when कृ takes the सुट् augment : as संचस्करिव, संचस्करिम ॥ The rule VII. 2. 63, applies here also, as संचस्करिथ ॥

श्वीदितो निष्ठायाम् ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ श्वि, ईदितः, निष्ठायाम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्वयतेरीदितश्च निष्ठायामिडागमो न भवति ॥

14. The Participial affixes त and तवत् (kta and ktavatu), do not get the इट् augment after श्वि, and after the root which has an indicatory ई ॥

As शूनः, शूनवान ; ओलस्जी (VI. 10),—लग्न, लग्नवान् ; ओविजी (VI. 9), उद्विग्नः, उद्विग्नवान् ॥ The त is changed to न because of the indicatory ओ (VIII. 2. 45). So also दीङ्ी (IV. 42), दीनः, दीनवान् ॥ In the Dhâtupâṭha, डीङ् (IV. 27), is classed among ओदित् roots, and it indicates that the Nishṭhâ is aniṭ after it : and ओ is for न-change (VIII. 2. 45) as, उड्डीनः, उड्डीनवान् ॥ The word निष्ठायाम् governs the following sûtras upto VII. 2. 35.

यस्य विभाषा ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ यस्य, विभाषा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यस्य धातोर्विभाषा क्वचिदिडुक्तस्तस्य निष्ठायां परत इडागमो न भवति ॥

15. The Participial-affixes do not take इट्, after those roots, to which another suffix can optionally be added, with or without this augment ॥

That is, a root which is *optionally* Seṭ before other affixes, is *invariably* aniṭ before Nishṭhâ. Thus by VII. 2. 44, वल् consonant beginning affixes are optionally सेट् after the roots धू &c. The Nishṭhâ after धू &c, will be invariably aniṭ. Thus विधूतः, विधूतवान् ; गूढः, गूढवान् ॥ By VII. 2. 56, the roots having an indicatory उ, *optionally* are followed by Seṭ क्त्वा ॥ The Nishṭhâ after उदित् roots will *invariably* be aniṭ : as वृद्धः, वृद्धवान् ॥

By the vârtika सनि पति तरिद्राणामुपसङ्ख्यानम् the roots सम्, पत and दरिद्रा take optional इट् in the Desiderative (VII. 2. 49). Though पत् is a root which thus *optionally* takes इट् in the Desiderative, yet its Nishṭhâ is always सेट्, for Pâṇini himself has employed the word पतित in Sûtra II. 1. 24, 38. According to Padamanjari this rule of यस्य विभाषा is anitya and not of universal application. Because had this rule been of universal application then the root कृत which is *optionally* aniṭ by VII. 2. 57, would be *universally* aniṭ by the present sûtra : and there would be no necessity of reading it with a long ई in the Dhâtupâṭha, as कृती छेदने (VI. 141) to make its nishthâ aniṭ under VII. 2. 14.

आदितश्च ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ आदितः, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आदितश्च धातोर्निष्ठायामिडागमो न भवति ॥

16. The Participial-affixes do not get इट् augment after a root which has an indicatory आ ॥

As ञिमिदा — मिन्नः, मिन्नवान् ; ञिक्ष्विदा — क्ष्विण्णः, क्ष्विण्णवान् ; ञिष्विदा — स्विन्नः, स्विन्नवान् ॥ The च implies that other roots not enumerated are to be also included, as आश्वस्तः, वान्तः ॥

This and the sûtra following it could have been made into one, as आदितश्च विभाषा भावादिकर्मणोः ॥ The separate making of two sûtras indicates that the rule of यस्य विभाषा (VII. 2. 15), applies with the restrictions and limitations of the rule ordaining 'option', i.e., the prohibition of इट् augment, with regard to the participial-affixes is limited by the same conditions, which apply to the optional employment of इट् before other affixes in the विभाषा rules (यदुपाधेर्विभाषा, तदुपाधेः प्रतिषेधः) ॥ Thus VII. 2. 68 ordains इट् optionally to the affix वसु after the roots गम्, हन्, विद् and विश् ॥ The root विद् there is the Tudâdi root meaning 'to acquire'. The rule यस्य विभाषा will apply to this विद् with this meaning : and not to विद् meaning 'to know', the Past Participles of which are विदितः, विदितवान् ॥

विभाषा भावादिकर्म्मणोः ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, भाव, आदिकर्म्मणोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भावे आदिकर्म्मणि च आदितो धातोर्विभाषा निष्ठायामिडागमो न भवति ॥

17. The participial affixes after roots having an indicatory आ, may optionally take the augment इट्, when the affixes have an Impersonal sense, or denote the beginning of an action.

Thus मिन्नमनेन or मेदितमनेन, प्रमिन्नः, प्रमेदितः ॥ The Saunâgas optionally make the Nishṭhâ seṭ after the root शक्, when the affix has a Passive significance even, as शकितो घटः कर्त्तुम् or शक्तः घटः कर्त्तुम् ॥ Not so, when the affix has Impersonal force, as शक्तमनेन् ॥ The root अस् 'to throw' (अस्यति), is followed by सेट् Nishṭhâ, when the sense is Impersonal : as असितमनेन ; but not when the beginning of action is meant, as अस्तः काण्डः ॥

क्षुब्धस्वान्तध्वान्तलग्नम्लिष्टविरिब्धफाण्टबाढानि मन्थमनस्तमःसक्ताविस्पष्टस्वरा-

नायासभृशेषु ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्षुब्ध, स्वान्त, ध्वान्त लग्न, म्लिष्ट, विरिब्ध, फाण्ट, बाढानि, मन्थ, मनः, तमः, सक्त, अविस्पष्ट, स्वर, अनायास, भृशेषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्षुब्ध स्वान्त ध्वान्त लग्न म्लिष्ट विरिब्ध फाण्ट बाढ इत्येते निपात्यन्ते यथासंख्यं मन्थ मनस्तमः सक्ताविस्पष्ट स्वरानायासभृश इत्येतेष्वर्थेषु ॥

18. The following words are made without इट् augment in the senses given against them :—

1. क्षुब्धः 'a churning stick', 2. स्वान्तः 'the mind', 3. ध्वान्तः darkness', 4. लग्नः 'attached', 5. म्लिष्टः 'indistinct or unintelligible', 6. विरिब्धः 'a note or tone', 7. फाण्टः 'made without an effort or by an easy process', and 8. बाढः 'excessive'.

When the words have not the above sense, we have 1. क्षुभितं 'disturbed or agitated'. The phrase क्षुब्धो गिरिः or नदी is a metaphorical use of the word. 2. स्वनितः as स्वनितो मृदङ्गः, स्वनितं मनसा ॥ 3. ध्वनितो मृदङ्गः or ध्वनितं मनसा ॥ 4. लगितं, 5. म्लेच्छितं, (= अपभाषितं) 6. विरेभितं from रेभृ 'to sound', or विरिभितं from रिभि ॥ 7. फाणितं ॥ फाण्ट is a decoction, prepared without much trouble, by simply slightly heating the substance with some water, without powdering or pasting it. (यदशृतमपिष्टं च कषायमुदकसंपर्कमात्राद् विभक्तरसमीषदुष्णं) a medicine for any disease may be administered in five forms :—रसः or essence, कल्कः paste or powder, शृतः decoction or extract, शीतः cold extract prepared by throwing pounded drugs into cold water, and keeping that all night to soak. This watery extract, to be drunk in the morning, is so called. फाण्ट is a similar hot preparation, but for immediate use, when the drugs are put in boiling water and the decoction after purification is ready for use as a drink. 8. बाहितं from बाहृ 'to strive'.

धृषिशसी वैयात्ये ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ धृषि, शसी, वैयात्ये, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वियातस्य भावो वैयात्यम् प्रागल्भ्यमविनीतता ॥ तत्र धृष् शस् इत्येतयोर्निष्ठायामिडागमो न भवति ॥

19. The Participial affix does not get इट् augment, after the roots धृष् and शस्, when meaning 'bold, impudent and arrogant'.

As धृष्टः, विशस्तः ॥ The root धृष् is exhibited in the Dhâtupâṭha as ञिधृषा 'to be impudent' (V. 2 2), and as it has an indicatory आ, its past participle would be अनिट् by VII. 2. 16. शस् is शसु in the Dhâtupâṭha (I. 763), and as it has an indicatory उ by VII. 2. 56. read with VII. 2. 15, its Nishṭhâ is also Aniṭ. The special mention of these roots here, is for the sake of making a niyama rule: namely, अनिट् only then when meaning 'impudent', and सेट् in other senses: as धर्षितः, विशसितः "धृष् never forms past participle with the force of भाव (Impersonal action) or आदिकर्म (beginning of action), and therefore VII. 2. 17 cannot apply to it"—This is Kâśikâ. According to Bhattoji Dikshit who

quotes Haradatta and Mâdhava, धृष forms participles in those senses, when option is allowed, as, धृष्टं or धर्षितं, प्रधृष्टः or प्रधर्षितः not meaning 'impudent'.

दृढः स्थूलबलयोः ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ दृढः, स्थूल, बलयोः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दृढ इति निपात्यते स्थूले बलवति चार्थे ॥

20. The irregularly formed Past Participle दृढ means 'stout' and 'strong'.

It is derived from दृह् with क्त affix. In other senses, the forms are दृंहितम् or दृहितम् ॥ There are two roots one दृह् (I. 769) without nasal, and the other दृंह् (I. 770) with the nasal. दृढ can be derived from any one of these by eliding ह, and the nasal, and changing त to ढ, and not adding the augment इट् ॥

The difference between स्थूल and बल is that a man may be stout or स्थूल without being strong (बलवान्) and *vice versa.* The word बल in the sûtra is equal to बलवत्; in fact, the word बल is formed by अच् affix. The irregularity in the formation of दृढ consists in the absence of इट् and the elision of ह (and of न्, if the root दृंह be taken) : and the change of त into ढ ॥ This irregular elision of ह is for the sake of preventing the application of the rule पूर्वत्रासिद्धम् (VIII. 2. 1). The form could have been obtained in the regular way by the elision of ढ, thus: दृह्+त = दृढ्+त (VIII. 2. 31) = दृढ्+ध = दृढ्+ढ = दृ+ढ (VIII. 3. 13) = दृढ ॥ But then when ढ is elided, the rule पूर्वत्रासिद्धम् will apply, and the forms द्रढिमा, द्रढीयान्, द्रढयति could not be obtained. For ऋ is changed to र by VI. 4. 161 only when it is *laghu* or light, but ढ-lopa being considered asiddha, the ऋ would be heavy as standing before a conjunct consonant. So also the form परिदृढय्यागतः could not be obtained: for the णि would not be changed to अय् before ल्यप when the ऋ is not light or laghu (VI. 4. 56). So also, परिदृढस्यापत्यं = पारिदृढी (the daughter of Paridṛḍha) could not be formed. For ऋ being considered guru or heavy, the affix ष्यङ् would have come in the feminine (IV. 1. 78).

प्रभौ परिवृढः ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रभौ, परिवृढः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिवृढ इति निपात्यते प्रभुश्चेद्भवति ॥

21. The irregularly formed परिवृढ means 'Lord'.

This is formed, like दृढ, from वृह् or वृंह् ॥ When not having the sense of 'Lord', we have परिवृहितम् and परिवृंहितम् ॥

The ह is elided first as an anomaly. By so doing we can get the forms like परिव्रढयति, परिव्रढय्यागतः; पारिवृढीकन्या ॥ The form परिव्रढय्य is formed by ल्यप् instead of ktvâ ॥ Though the full noun is परिवृढ and णिच् is added to such a noun, yet for the purposes of ktvâ it is considered as a compound verb, having परि as upasarga. In fact, णिच् is added to वृढ, and the root becomes व्रढि, and then ktvâ is added to this root, and then there is compounding of परि with this word ending in ktvâ, and then by the regular process the ktvâ is replaced by ल्यप् ॥ The general rule is that Derivative roots formed from nouns, like परिवृढ, उन्मनस्, सुमनस् &c which have an upasarga as one of their formative elements,

are treated as if they were compound verbs having those upasargas. The result of this is, that though the full noun is सुमनस्, yet in the derivative verb, सु will be treated as an upasarga, as in ordinary compound verbs. Thus the augment अ in the Imperfect is added after सु and not before it, as स्वमनायत, उद-मनायत ॥ The rule is उपसर्गसमानाकारं पूर्वपदं धातुसंज्ञाप्रयोजके प्रत्यये चिकीर्षिते पृथक् क्रियते ॥ The Participial form of these words is therefore with ल्यप् and not क्त्वा, as सुमनाय्य and उन्मनाय्य ॥ The only exception to this rule is the noun संग्राम, in which the upasarga सम् is not considered as a separate member in the Derivative verb. This being the general rule, in परिव्रढयति the portion परि is treated as an upasarga, and व्रढयति as the verb, and its accent is governed by तिङ्ङ तिङ् (VIII. 1. 28) i. e. it becomes altogether unaccented and परि retains its accent. So also परिव्रढय्य, where is परि is compounded with the Participial form व्रढित्वा, and then त्वा is changed to ल्यप् by VII. 1. 37.

कृच्छ्रगहनयोः कषः ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृच्छ्र, गहनयोः, कषः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृच्छ्र गहन इत्येतयोरर्थयोः कषेर्धातोर्निष्ठायामिडागमो न भवति ॥

22. The Participial affix does not take the augment इट् after the root कष्, when the participle means 'difficult' and 'impenetrable'.

As कष्टो ऽग्निः, कष्टं व्याकरणं, ततोऽपि कष्टतराणि सामानि ॥ "Difficult is Fire-sacrifice i. e. it is difficult to completely master the ritual connected with the worship of fire; and difficult enough is Grammar, but the Sâmâns are worst of all". कष्टानि वनानि 'impervious forests.' कष्टाः पर्वताः ॥ When not havig these senses, we have कषितं सुवर्णम् ॥

घुषिरविशब्दने ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ घुषिः, अविशब्दने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ घुषेर्धातोरविशब्दनेऽर्थे निष्ठायामिडागमो न भवति ॥

23. The Participial affix does not take the augment इट्, after the root घुष् in any sense other than that of 'proclaimed'.

As घुष्टा रज्जुः, घुष्टौ पादौ but अवघुषितं वाक्यमाह ॥ विशब्दन = प्रतिज्ञानम् 'assertion, affirmation, agreement'. घुषिर् अविशब्दने is Bhvâdi (I. 683), and घुषिर् विशब्दने is Churâdi (X. 187), both of these are referred to in the sûtra. The prohibition of विशब्दन in the sûtra, indicates by jñâpaka thât the णिच् added to the root in the Churâdi class in the sense of विशब्दन is anitya. So the following construction becomes valid:–as महीपालवचः श्रुत्वा जुघुषुः पुष्यमाणवाः "expressed their opinions in words".

In short the णिच् is optionally added to the घुषिर् of the Churâdi class.

Some say the Churâdi णिच् is anitya generally and not only after घुषिर् (अनित्य ण्यन्ताश्चुरादयः) ॥ This is inferred from the mention of the root चिति स्मृत्याम् (X. 2) in this class. The indicatory इ in चिति shows that the augment

नुम् will be added to the root, which will thus become चिन्त and this न will be retained throughout and never dropped. (VII. 1. 48). Now had the णिच् been nitya, then the root ought to have been taught as चिन्त स्मृत्याम्, because no rule would have caused the elision of the न् of चिन्त when णिच् was added. The enunciation of the root as चिति, therefore, indicates that the churâdi णिच् is anitya, and thus we get the forms like चिन्तितः, चिन्त्यात्, चिन्त्यते, चिन्तति, चिन्तेत् &c.

अर्देः संनिविभ्यः ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अर्देः, सम्, नि, विभ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सं नि वि इत्येतेभ्य उत्तरस्यार्देर्निष्ठायामिडागमो न भवति ॥

24. The Participial affix does not take the इट्, after the root अर्द when it is preceded by सं, नि or वि ॥

As समर्णः, 'plagued' न्यर्णः, व्यर्णः ॥ Why 'of अर्द'? Observe समेधितः ॥ Why 'सम्, नि or वि'? Observe अर्दितः ॥

अभेश्चाविदूर्ये ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अभेः, च, आविदूर्ये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभिशब्दादुत्तरस्यार्देराविदूर्येर्थे निष्ठायामिडागमो न भवति ॥

25. The Participial affix does not take the इट्, after अर्द preceded by अभि, when the meaning is that of 'near'.

As अभ्यर्णा सेना, अभ्यर्णा शरत् ॥ Why 'when meaning near'? See अभ्यर्दितो वृषलः शीतेन meaning पीडितः॥ विदूरं means 'remote,' that which is not remote is अविदूरं 'non-remote,' the state of being non-remote is आविदूर्यम् 'non-remote-ness.' The affix ष्यञ् is added irregularly, in spite of the prohibition contained in V. 1. 121.

णेरध्ययने वृत्तम् ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ णेः, अध्ययने, वृत्तम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ण्यन्तस्य वृत्तेर्निष्ठायामध्ययनार्थे वृत्तमितीडभावो णिलुक् च निपात्यते ॥

26. The word वृत्त is formed from the causative of वृत्, in the sense of 'studied through or read.'

There is absence of इट् and luk-elision of the causative sign. As वृत्तो गुणो देवदत्तेन 'Devadatta has read or gone through Guṇa.' (गुणः पाठः पदक्रमसंहिता रूपोऽध्ययनविशेषः) ॥ वृत्तं पारायणं देवदत्तेन ॥ When the sense is not that of 'read', we have वर्त्तितम् ॥ The root वृत् is intransitive, and becomes Transitive when employed in the Causative. The participle is formed from this Transitive causative verb, otherwise it could not have governed an object as shown above. "The affix क्त is added with a Passive force to वृत्, as we find the author himself using this form in निर्वृत्तम् in sûtras IV. 2. 68, and V. 1. 79; on the analogy of निर्वृत्त the word वृत्तः could also have been formed without this sûtra."

वा दान्तशान्तपूर्णदस्तस्पष्टच्छन्नज्ञप्ताः ॥२७॥ पदानि ॥ वा, दान्त, शान्त, पूर्ण, दस्त, स्पष्ट, छन्न, ज्ञप्ताः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ णेरित्यनुवर्त्तते। दम् शम् पूरी दस् स्पश् छद् ज्ञप् इत्येतेषां ण्यन्तानां धातूनां वा अनिट्त्वं निपात्यते ॥

27. The following irregularly formed Participles, from the causative roots, may optionally take इट्, namely, दान्त, शान्त, पूर्ण, दस्त, स्पष्ट, छन्न, ज्ञप्त ॥

These words are formed either from the causative base or from the primary roots दम् &c. The other forms are दमितः, शमितः, पूरितः, दासितः, स्पाशितः, छादितः and ज्ञपितः ॥ The words दान्त &c. are formed by the luk-elision of णि (Causative), and not taking the इट् Augment. By VII. 2. 49 ज्ञप् optionally is सेट् and, therefore, by VII. 2. 15, its Participle would have been *always* अनिट्, hence, this sûtra makes an option.

रुष्यमत्वरसंघुषास्वनाम् ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ रुषि, अम, त्वर, संघुष, आस्वनाम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ वेति वर्त्तते । रुषि अम त्वर संघुष आस्वन इत्येतेषां निष्ठायां वा इडागमो न भवति ॥

28. The Participial affix may optionally get इट् augment, after रुष्, अम्, त्वर्, संघुष्, and आस्वन् ॥

As रुष्टः or रुषितः ॥ By VII. 2. 48, the affixes after रुष् are *optionally* सेट्, and therefore by VII. 2. 15, the Nishṭhâ after this verb would have been *always* aniṭ; hence this optional rule. अभ्यान्तः or अभ्यमितः; तूर्णः or त्वरितः ॥ The त्वर् is exhibited in the Dhâtupâṭha as ञित्वरा (I. 812) i. e. with an indicatory long आ, and hence by VII. 2. 16. would have been aniṭ always, this rule makes it optionally aniṭ. So also, संघुष्टौ पादौ, or संघुषितौ पादौ, संघुष्टं or संघुषितं वाक्यमाह, संघुष्टौ or संघुषितौ रम्यौ ॥ घुष preceded by सम् will be optionally aniṭ, even when having any sense other than that of 'proclaimed', as this *subsequent* sûtra supersedes VII. 2. 23 so far. So also आस्वान्तः or आस्वनितो देवदत्तः, आस्वान्तम् or आस्वनितं मनः ॥ स्वन् when preceded by आ, though denoting 'mind,' is *optionally* aniṭ, in spite of VII. 2. 18, that rule being superseded so far by this *subsequent* rule.

हृषेर्लोमसु ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ हृषेः, लोमसु, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ लोमसु वर्त्तमानस्य हृषेर्निष्ठायां वा इडागमो न भवति ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ विस्मितप्रतिघातयोश्चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

29. The Participial affix optionally takes इट्, after हृष् when the word लोमन्, or its synonym is in construction with it.

As हृष्टानि लोमानि or हृषितानि लोमानि; हृष्टाः केशाः or हृषिताः केशाः; हृष्टं or हृषितं लोमभिः or केशैः ॥ हृषु 'to lie' (I. 741) is exhibited with an indicatory उ in the Dhâtupâṭha, and would have been consequently *always* aniṭ, in the Nishṭhâ (VII. 2. 15) because it was optionally aniṭ before ktvâ (VII. 2. 56) hence this rule. हृष् 'to be delighted' (IV. 119) is also included here, this verb is सेट् ॥ The option appertains to both these verbs. The word लोम means the hair of the body as well as of the head: as in the sentence लोमनखं स्पृष्ट्वा शौचं कर्तव्यम् ॥ The sense of हृष in connection with लोम will be that of bristling up, horipillation. Why do

we say "in connection with लोम?" Observe हृष्टो (bhuadi) देवदत्तः 'the deceived Deva Datta' and हृषितो (Divâdi) देवदत्तः 'the delighted Devadatta.

Vârt:—The option is allowed also in the senses of 'astonished' and 'beaten back', as हृष्टो or हृषितो देवदत्तः 'the astonished D'. हृष्टाः or हृषिता दन्ताः 'the bent or destroyed teeth'.

अपचितश्च ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ अपचितः, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपचित इति वा निपात्यते । अपपूर्वस्य चायतेर्निष्ठायामनिट्त्वं चिभावश्च निपात्यते ।
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ क्तिनि नित्यमिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

30. And अपचित has also a second form with the augment इ ॥

The word अपचित is formed with the preposition अप added to the root चायृ (I. 929) 'to honor, to fear, to see' and चायृ changed irregularly to चि before क्त ॥ The other form is अपचायितः, as अपचितो or अपचायितो ऽनेनगुरुः 'the teacher is feared by him'. This example is given when the sense is that of 'fear'; when the word means 'honor', then the participle must govern the genitive case, as required by III. 2. 188.

Vârt:—Before क्तिन् affix, चायृ is always changed to चि, as अपचितिः 'Loss, destruction, showing reverence'. The affix क्तिन् is added to चायृ, by considering it as belonging to the class of आप् &c. See III. 3. 94 *Vârt.* Otherwise it would take the affix अ by III. 3. 103.

हु ह्वरेश्छन्दसि ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ हु ह्वरेः, छन्दसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ह्वरतेर्धातोर्निष्ठायां छन्दसि हु इत्ययमादेशो भवति ।

31. हु is substituted for ह्वृ (I. 978) in the Veda, before the Participial-affix.

As हुतस्य चाहुतस्य च, अहुतमसि हविर्धानम् (Vaj San. I. 9). But ह्वृतम् in secular literature.

अपरिह्वृताश्च ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपरिह्वृताः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपरिह्वृता इति निपात्यते छन्दसि विषये । हु इत्येतस्यादेशस्याभावो निपात्यते ।

32. The word 'aparihvṛitâ' is irregularly formed in the Veda.

The हु substitution required by the last sûtra, does not take place here. As अपरिह्वृताः सनुयाम वाजम् (Rig I. 100. 19).

सोमे ह्वरितः ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ सोमे, ह्वरितः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ह्वरित इति ह्वरतेर्निष्ठायामिडागमो गुणश्च निपात्यते छन्दसि विषये, सोमश्चेद्भवति ।

33. ह्वरित is irregularly formed from ह्वृ in the Veda, by guṇa substitution and इट् augment, when it refers to Soma.

As मा नः सोमो ह्वरितो, विह्वरितस्त्वम् ॥

ग्रसितस्कभितस्तभितोत्तभितचत्तविकस्ता विशस्तृशंस्तृशास्तृतरुतृतरूतृवरुतृवरूतृवरूत्रीरुज्ज्वलिति क्षरिति क्षमिति वमित्यमितीति च ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ ग्रसित, स्कभित, स्तभित, उत्तभित, चत्त, विकस्त, विशस्तृ, शंस्तृ, शास्तृ, तरुतृ, तरूतृ, वरुतृ, वरूतृ, वरूत्रीः, उज्ज्वलिति, क्षरिति, क्षमिति, वमिति, अमिति, इति, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ग्रसित स्कभित स्तभित उत्तभित चत्त विकस्त विशस्तृ शंस्तृ शा स्तृ तरुतृ तरूतृ वरुतृ वरूतृ वरूत्रीः उज्ज्वलिति क्षरिति क्षमिति वमित्यमिति इत्येतानि छन्दसि निपात्यन्ते ।

34. In the Veda, the following irregular forms are found, some with, and some without the augment इट—1 grasita, 2 skabhita, 3 stabhita, 4 uttabhita, 5 chatta, 6 vikasta, 7 viśastṛi, 8 śanstṛi, 9 śâstṛi, 10 tarutṛi, 11 tarûtṛi, 12 varutṛi, 13 varûtṛi, 14 varûtrîḥ, 15 ujjvaliti, 16 kshariti, 17 kshamiti, 18 vamiti and 19 amiti.

Of the above nineteen words, 1, 2, 3, and 4 are from roots ग्रसु, 'to swallow' (I. 661) स्कम्भु 'to stop' (I. 414) and स्तम्भु (I. 413) all having an indicatory उ, and therefore by VII. 2. 56 read with VII. 2. 15, their Nishṭhâ would not have taken इट् ॥ Thus ग्रसितं (ver. ग्रस्त) वा एतत् सोमस्य ॥ विष्कभिते अजरे (=विष्कब्धः); येन स्वस्तभितम (=स्तब्धम्), सत्येनोत्तभिता भूमिः (=उत्तब्धः) ॥ The irregularity is only with the preposition उत्, with other prepositions, the form स्तभित is not employed. Similarly (5) चत्ता (=चतिता) वर्षेण विद्युत् from चते याचने॥ (6)उत्तानाया हृदयं यद् विकस्तम् (=विकसितम्) The forms, 7 8, and 9 are from the roots शसु हिंसायाम् and शंसु स्तुतौ, and शासु अनुशिष्टौ with the affix तृच् and no augment; as एकस्त्वष्टुरश्वस्याविशस्ता (=विशसिता), उत शंस्ता सुविप्रः (=शंसिता), प्रशास्ता (=प्रशासितम्)॥ The forms 10, 11, 12, 13 and 14 are from the roots तॄ and वृ (वृङ् and वृञ्), with the affix तृच्, and the augment उट् and ऊट् ॥ As तरुतारं or तरूतारं रथानाम् (=तरितारम् or तरीतारम्), वरुतारम् or वरूतारम् रथानाम् (=वरितारम् or वरीतारम्); वरूत्रीष्ट्वा देवीर्विश्वदेव्यावती ॥ वरूत्रीः is exhibited in this form of Nom. pl. of the feminine वरूत्री merely for the sake of showing one form in which it is found: another form is अहोरात्राणि वै वरूत्रयः ॥ Here the plural is formed irregularly, by taking the word as वरूत्रि ॥ The feminine form could have been easily obtained from वरूतृ, by adding ङीप्, the special mention is explanatory. The rest 15, 16, 17, 18 and 19 are from उत्-ज्वल, क्षर्, क्षम्, वम्, and अम्, formed with the vikaraṇa शप् and the affix of the 3rd Per Sing तिप्, इ being substituted for अ of शप, or शप् is elided and the augment इट् is added ॥ As अग्निरुज्ज्वलिति (=उज्ज्वलति), स्तोमं क्षमिति (=क्षमति), स्तोकं क्षरिति (=क्षरति), यः सोमं वमिति (=वमति), अभ्यमिति वरुणः (=अभ्यमति) ॥ Sometimes we have अभ्यमीति, as रोदमभ्यमीति ॥

आर्द्धधातुकस्येड्वलादेः ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आर्द्धधातुकस्य, इट्, वलादेः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसीति निवृत्तम् । आर्द्धधातुकस्य वलादेरिडागमो भवति ।

35. An ârdhadhâtuka affix (III. 4. 114 &c) beginning with a consonant (except य), gets the augment इट् (in these rules).

Thus लविता, लवितुम्, लवितव्यम्, पविता, पवितुम्, पवितव्यम् ॥ Why 'ârdhadhâtuka'? Observe आस्ते, वस्ते ॥ The niyama rule of VII. 2. 76 ordaining इट् augment to sârvadhâtuka affixes of Rudâdi verbs, would prevent इट् augment before sârvadhâtuka affixes when coming after other roots. The employment of ârdhadhâtuka here can be dispensed with. Why before affixes beginning with a वल्-consonant? Observe लव्यम्, पव्यम्, लवनीयम्, पवनीयम् ॥ Though the anuvritti of इट् was understood here, its repetition is for the sake of preventing the prohibition of the foregoing sûtras like VII. 2. 8.

स्नुक्रमोरनात्मनेपदनिमित्ते ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्नु, क्रमोः, अनात्मनेपदनिमित्ते ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नियमार्थमिदम् । स्नुक्रमोरार्द्धधातुकस्य वलादेरिडागमो भवति, न चेत्स्नुक्रमौ आत्मनेपदस्य निमित्तं भवतः ।

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ क्रमस्तु कर्त्तर्यात्मनेपदविषयात्सस्यात्मनेपदे कृति प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

36. The augment इट् is added to ârdhadhâtuka valâdi affixes after स्नु and क्रम्, only then when they do not occasion the taking of the Personal endings of the Atmanepada.

The roots स्नु and क्रम् are udâtta, and will get इट् augment naturally, the sûtra makes a restriction or niyama. The restriction is that when the roots themselves occasion atmanepada affixes, then they do not take इट्, otherwise they will.

When do roots give occasion to Atmanepada affixes? The roots occasion atmanepada affixes when employed in the Impersonal, Passive, and Intensive senses. Sutras I. 3. 38-43, teach us when क्रम takes Átmanepada affixes. Thus प्रस्नविता, प्रस्नवितुम्, प्रस्नवितव्यम्, प्रक्रमिता, प्रक्रमितुम, प्रक्रमितव्यम् ॥ Why do we say 'when not the occasion of getting the Atmanepada affixes'? Observe, प्रस्नोषीष्ट, प्रक्रंसीष्ट, प्रस्नोष्यते, प्रक्रंस्यते, प्रस्नुषिष्यते, प्रचिक्रंसिष्यते ॥ In all these examples स्नु and क्रम् have become the causes of taking the Atmanepada affixes. The Desiderative is also Atmanepadi because of I. 3. 62.

Why have we used the word निमित्त in the sûtra? Would it not have been simpler to say स्नुक्रमोरनात्मनेपदे? This form of sûtra would have indicated that whenever an âtmanepada affix followed, then there would be no इट् augment. Now the rule is that all words exhibited in the Locative case in this Grammar, have the force of परसप्तमी, i. e. when that word *follows*. Therefore आत्मनेपदे would mean when an âtmanependa affix followed. If then this "âtmanepada" be taken as qualifying स्नु and क्रम्, then it must follow *immediately* after those roots, as in प्रस्नोषीष्ट and प्रक्रंसीष्ट; but we would not get the forms प्रस्नोष्यते and प्रक्रंस्यते, because स्य intervenes between the atmanepada and the

affix. On the other hand if "atmanepada" be taken to qualify the word "ârdhadhâtuka affix" understood, viz, if the sûtra ment स्नुक्रमिभ्यां परस्यार्धधातुकस्यात्मनेपदेऽनन्तरं then the forms प्रस्नोष्यते and प्रक्रंस्यते would be valid, but we should not get the forms प्रस्नोषीष्ट and प्रक्रंसीष्ट, because the augment सीयुट् is a portion of the âtmanepada affix, and there is no ârdhdhâtuka affix here. If the sûtra be taken to have both the above senses, then we could not get the form प्रचिक्रंसिष्यते in the Desiderative, because here the âtmanepada does not follow immediately after the sârvadhâtuka affix that follows क्रम् ॥ Therefore, the word निमित्त should be taken. For by so doing, there takes place prohibition with regard to सीयुट् &c, and also with regard to that after which comes the âtmanepada, as the स्य in प्राचक्रंसिष्यते, and also with regard to that which precedes the latter, as the सन् affix in the above. In प्रस्नाविच्रीयते (प्रस्नवितेवाचरति), the root स्नु has not occasioned the âtmanepada affix, but the affix क्यङ्, hence the prohibition of this sûtra does not apply.

Vârt:—Prohibition of इट् augment should be stated with regard to क्रम् when an Krit-affix, with active force, follows not in the âtmanepada, though in the Active voice such क्रम् was subject of Atmanepada. When क्रम् takes no upasargas, we have according to one view two forms क्रन्ता and क्रमिता (I. 3. 43) because the âtmanepada here is optional. According to the other view there will be only one form, as क्रमिता ॥ But with प्र and उप् we have प्रक्रन्ता and उपक्रन्ता ॥ Why do we say 'the Krit-affix should have an active force'? Observe प्रक्रमितव्यम, उपक्रमितव्यम् ॥ Why do we say "when it was subject of Atmanepada"? Observe निष्क्रमिता ॥ Here there is इट् augment; for by I. 3. 42, क्रम् is subject of atmanepada, when the upasargas प्र and उप precede, but not otherwise.

With regard to स्नु, it will take no इट् in the Desiderative, and before a कित् affix, by virtue of VII. 2. 11 and 12. Therefore, we have the forms प्रसुस्नुषति, प्रस्नुतः, प्रस्नुतवान् ॥

ग्रहो ऽलिटि दीर्घः ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ग्रहः, अ लिटि, दीर्घः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ग्रह उत्तरस्य इटः अलिटि दीर्घो भवति ।

37. The augment इट added to valâdi ârdhadhâtuka affixes, becomes lengthened, except in the Personal endings of the Perfect, after the root ग्रह ॥

As ग्रहीता, ग्रहीतुम्, ग्रहीतव्यम् ॥ Why not in the Perfect? Observe जगृहिव जगृहिम ॥ The lengthening takes place of the इट् taught in VII. 2. 35, and does not refer to the चिण्वद् इट् of VI. 4. 62: as ग्राहिता, ग्रहिष्यते ॥

वृतो वा ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृतः वा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वृ इति वृङ्वृञोः सामान्येन ग्रहणं तस्मादुत्तरस्य ॠकारान्तेभ्यश्चेटो वा दीर्घो भवति ।

38. The इट् is optionally lengthened after वृङ्, वृञ् and after roots ending in long ॠ, except in the Perfect.

As वरिता । वरीता । प्रावरिता । प्रावरीता ॥ ॠकारान्तेभ्यः । तरिता । तरीता । आस्तरिता । आस्तरीता ॥ वृत इति किम् । करिष्यति हरिष्यति । अलिटीत्यव । ववरिथ । तेरिथ ॥ Why do we say 'after वृ and long ॠ ending roots'? Observe करिष्यति and हरिष्यति ॥ Why do we say except in the Perfect? Observe ववरिथ and तरिथ ॥

न लिङि ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, लिङि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वृत उत्तरस्य इटो लिङि दीर्घो न भवति ।

39. The इट् is not lengthened after the same roots वृ, and ॠ ending roots, in the endings of the Benedictive.

As विवरिषीष्ट, प्रावरिषीष्ट, आस्तरिषीष्ट, विस्तरिषीष्ट ॥

सिचि च परस्मैपदेषु ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ सिचि, च, परस्मैपदेषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परस्मैपदपरे सिचि वृत उत्तरस्य इटो दीर्घो न भवति ।

40. The इट् is not lengthened after वृ and ॠ ending roots, in the s-Aorist of the Parasmaipada.

As प्रावारिष्टाम्, प्रावारिषुः, अतारिष्टाम्, from तॄ प्लवनतरणयोः ॥ आस्तारिष्टाम्, आस्तारिषुः, from स्तॄञ् आच्छादने; but प्रावरिष्ट, प्रावरीष्ट in the Atmanepada.

इट् सनि वा ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ इट्, सनि, वा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वृतः सनो वा इडागमो भवति ।

41. The Desiderative स् may optionaly take इट् (which is optionally lengthened also) after the said वृ and ॠ ending roots.

As वुवूर्षति । विवरिषते । विवरीषते । प्रावुवूर्षति । प्राविवरिषति । प्राविवरीषति । ॠकारान्तेभ्यः । तितीर्षति । तितरिषति । तितरीषति । आतिस्तीर्षति । This Parasmaipada form is not valid, according to Padamanjari. आतिस्तरिषति । आतिस्तरीषति । सनि ग्रहगुहश्चेति इट्प्रतिषेधे प्राप्ते पक्षे इडागमो विधीयते । इटश्च वृतो वेति पक्षेदीर्घः । चिकीर्षति जिहीर्षति इत्यत्रोपदेशोऽधिकाराल्लाक्षणिकत्वाच्च इडागमो न भवति ॥

The इट् was prohibited by VII. 2. 12, in case of the Desideratives, hence this sûtra: when इट् is added, it may be lengthened by VII. 2. 38. The augment इट् however is not added in चिकीर्षति and जिहीर्षति, as they are formed from कृ 'to do' and हृ 'to lose', which do not take इट् at all. Because here, though the short ऋ is lengthened before सन् by VI. 4. 16, yet such lengthening will not make the roots long ॠ ending roots. Because the anuvṛitti of the word upadeśa is understood here from VII. 2. 10, so that the rule applies to those roots only which in 'upadeśa' or Dhâtupâṭha end in long ॠ and not those whose ऋ is lengthened by some Grammatical rule. Moreover, the long ॠ in कृ and हृ is temporary only, as it is replaced by long ई ॥ (See VI. 4. 16, for lengthening). The Desiderative of कॄ—चिकरिषति, however, does not lengthen its vowel (VII. 2. 75).

लिङ्सिचोरात्मनेपदेषु ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिङ्, सिचोः, आत्मनेपदेषु ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ लिङि सिचि च आत्मनेपदे परे वा इडागमो भवति ।

42. The इट् is optionally added to the endings of the Atmanepada Benedictive and s-Aorist, after the वृ and ॠ ending roots.

As वृषीष्ट or वरिषीष्ट, प्रावृषीष्ट (I. 2. 12 no guna) प्रावरिषीष्ट, आस्तरिषीष्ट, आस्तीर्षीष्ट ॥ सिचिखल्वपि, अवृत, अवरिष्ट, अवरीष्ट, प्रावृत, प्रावरिष्ट, प्रावरीष्ट, आस्तीर्ष्ट, आस्तरिष्ट,आस्तरीष्ट॥ आत्मनपदेष्विति किम्, ? प्रावारिष्टाम्, प्रावारिषुः ॥ लिङः प्रत्युदाहरणं न दर्शितमसंभवादिटो ऽवलादित्वादिति ॥

Why in the Atmanepada? Observe प्रावारिष्टाम्, प्रावारिषुः ॥ No counter-examples of Benedictive Parasmaipadi are given, as the affixes not being वलादि, the इट् can never be added to them.

ऋतश्च संयोगादेः ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋतः, च, संयोगादेः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ ऋदन्तादातोः संयोगादेरुत्तरयोर्लिङ्सिचोरात्मनेपदेषु वा इडागमो भवति ।

43. The इट् is optionally added to the endings of the Atmanepada Benedictive and S-Aorist, after a root, which ends in short ऋ, which is preceded by a conjunct consonant.

As ध्वृषीष्ट or ध्वरिषीष्ट ; स्मृषीष्ट, or स्मरिषीष्ट ; अध्वृषाताम्, or अध्वरिषाताम् ; अस्मृषाताम्, or अस्मरिषाताम् ॥ ऋत इति किम् । च्योषीष्ट, प्लोषीष्ट; अच्योष्ट, अप्लोष्ट ॥ संयोगादेरिति किम् । कृषीष्ट, हृषीष्ट; अकृत, अहृत ॥ आत्मनेपदेष्वित्येव । अध्वार्षीत्, अस्मार्षीत् ॥ संस्कृषीष्ट समस्कृतेत्यत्रोपदेशाधिकारादबहिरङ्गत्वाच्च सुट् इडागमो न भवति ॥

Why ending in short ऋ? Observe च्योषीष्ट, अच्योष्ट, प्लोषीष्ट and अप्लोष्ट ॥ Why 'beginning with a conjunct consonant'? Observe कृषीष्ट, हृषीष्ट, अकृत and अहृत ॥ Why 'in the Atmanepada'? Observe अध्वार्षीत्, अस्मार्षीत् ॥ In संस्कृषीष्ट and समस्कृत there is not इट्, first because स्कृ (the form assumed by कृ with सुट् augment) is not so enunciated in the Dhâtupaṭha ; the word upadeśa VII. 2. 10, is understood here ; so that the rule applies to those roots only which in the Dhâtupaṭha are ऋ ending and preceded by conjunct consonant ; and secondly' सुट् augment is considered as not attached to the root (VI. 1. 135), and therefore स्कृ is not considered a root beginning with a conjunct consonant.

स्वरतिसूतिसूयतिधूञूदितो वा ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वरति, सूति, सूयति, धूञ, ऊदितः, वा ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ स्वरति सूति सूयति धूञ् इत्येतेभ्य ऊदिद्भ्यश्चोत्तरस्य वलादेरार्धधातुकस्य वा इडागमो भवति ।

44. A Valâdi-ârdhadhâtuka affix optionally takes इट्, after svṛi, after the two roots सू (sûti and sûyati), after धूञ्, and after a root which has an indicatory long ऊ ॥

As स्वरिता or स्वर्त्ता ॥ प्रसोता, प्रसविता ॥ सूयति, सोता, सविता ॥ धूञ्, धोता, धविता ॥ ऊदिद्भ्यः खल्वपि । गाहू, विगाढा, विगाहिता ; गुपू, गोप्ता, गोपिता ॥ वेति वर्त्तमाने पुनर्वाग्रहणं लिङ्सिचोर्निवृत्त्यर्थम् । सूतिसूयत्योर्विकरणनिर्देशः षू प्रेरणइत्यस्य निवृत्त्यर्थः । धूञिति सानुबन्धकस्य निर्देशो धू

विधूननइत्यस्य निवृत्त्यर्थः । सविता धवितेत्येव नित्यमेतयोर्भवति । स्वरतेरेतस्माद्विकल्पादृद्धनोः स्यइत्येतद्भवति विप्रतिषेधेन । स्वरिष्यति । किति तु प्रत्यये श्रुयुकः कितीति नित्यः प्रतिषेधो भवति पूर्वप्रतिषेधेन ॥ स्वृत्वा, सूत्वा, धूत्वा ॥

Though the anuvṛitti of वा was current, the second employment of वा is to stop the anuvṛitti of the Benedictive and the S-Aorist. The roots सू of Adâdi (21) and Divâdi (24) are to be taken, as the special forms सूति and सूयति indicate, and not the सू of the Tudâdi (115) class. The धू is exhibited with the anubandha ञ्, in order to exclude धू विधूनने of Tudâdi (105). In the case of these latter the इट् augment is invariable, as सविता and धविता ॥ The root स्वृ takes invariably इट् in the Future, by virtue of the subsequent superseding rule VII. 2. 70, as स्वरिष्यति ॥ And before कित् affixes, the prior rule VII. 2. 11, invariably debars इट्, as स्वृत्वा, सूत्वा, धूत्वा ॥

रधादिभ्यश्च ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ रध-आदिभ्यः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रध हिंसासंसिद्ध्योरित्येवमादिभ्यो ऽष्टाभ्य उत्तरस्य वलादेरार्द्धधातुकस्य वा इडागमो भवति ॥

45. A valâdi-ârdhadhâtuka affix optionally takes इट् after रध् and the seven roots that follow it (Divâdi. 84 to 91).

As रधिता or रद्धा ; नंष्टा, (VII. 1. 60 नुम्) नशिता ; चप्ता, (VI. 1. 59 अम्) तर्प्ता, तर्पिता : द्रप्ता, दर्प्ता, दर्पिता ; द्रोग्धा, द्रोढा, (VIII. 2. 33) द्रोहिता ; मोग्धा, मोढा, मोहिता ; स्नोढा, स्नोहिता, स्नोग्धा, स्नेग्धा, स्नेढा, स्नेहिता ॥

Some hold that the रधादि roots *optionally* take इट् in the Perfect Tense also, because the present sûtra being subsequent to VII. 2. 13, debars that sûtra so far. Others hold that the रधादि roots will *always* take इट् in the Perfect, because the former rule VII. 2. 13 is stronger than the present, in as much as that is a prohibitory rule. So they form ररन्धिव and ररन्धिम ॥

निरः कुषः ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ निरः, कुषः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निर इत्येवंपूर्वात् कुष उत्तरस्य वलादेरार्द्धधातुकस्य वा इडागमो भवति ।

46. A valâdi-ârdhadhâtuka affix gets optionally the augment इट्, after कुष् when it is preceded by निर् ॥

As निष्क्रोष्टा or निष्कोषिता, निष्क्रोष्टुम् or निष्कोषितुम्, निष्क्रोष्टव्यम् or निष्कोषितव्यम् ॥ But only कोषिता, कोषितुं, कोषितव्यम् without निर् ॥ The exhibition of निर् instead of निस् indicates the existence of a separateand distinct preposition निर्, besides निस् ॥ It is the र् of this निर् which is changed to ल् by VIII. 2. 19, in निलयनम् ; for the र् of निस् being asiddha could not be changed to ल् ॥

इण्निष्ठायाम् ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ इट्, निष्ठायाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निरः कुषो निष्ठायामिडागमो भवति ।

47. The augment इट् is added to the Participial affixes त and तवत्, after कुष् preceded by निर् ॥

As निष्कुषितवान्, निष्कुषितः ॥ The special mention of इट् in the sûtra is for the sake of making its addition invariable, otherwise it would have been

optional, or debarred by VII. 2. 15. In the subsequent sûtra, the addition becomes again optional.

तीषसहलुभरुषरिषः ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ ति, इष, सह, लुभ, रुष, रिषः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ तकारादावार्द्धधातुके इषु सह लुभ रुष रिष् इत्येतेभ्यो वा इडागमो भवति ।

48. An ârdhadhâtuka affix beginning with a त may optionally take the इट्, after the roots इष्, सह्, लुभ्, रुष् and रिष् ॥

As एष्टा or एषिता ॥ The इष् ' to wish ' (VI. 59) is taken here, and not the इष् (IV. 19. IX. 53) of the Divâdi and Kryâdi class. Of the Divâdi इष् ' to send, to go ' we have invariably प्रेषिता, प्रेषितुं, प्रेषितव्यं ; and the इष् ' to repeat ' of the Kryâdi is governed also by this rule and has the same forms. Therefore some read the anuvṛitti of उदित् into this sûtra. सह । सोढा । सहिता । लुभ । लोभिता । लोब्धा । रुष । रोष्टा । रोषिता । रिष् । रेष्टा । रेषिता ॥ Why do we say 'beginning with a त' ? Observe एषिष्यति ॥

सनीवन्तर्धभ्रस्जदम्भुश्रिस्वृयूर्णुभरज्ञपिसनाम् ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ सनि, इवन्त, ऋध, भ्रस्ज, दम्भ, श्रि, स्वृ, यु, ऊर्णु, भर, ज्ञपि, सनाम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ इवान्तानाम धातूनाम् । ऋधु भ्रस्ज दम्भु श्रि स्वृ यु ऊर्णु भर ज्ञपि सन् इत्येतेषां च सनि वा इडागमो भवति ।

49. The desiderative स् may optionally take इट्, after a root ending in इव्, and after ऋधु, भ्रस्ज, दम्भु, श्रि, स्वृ, यु, ऊर्णु, भृ, ज्ञप्, and सन् ॥

Thus दिदेविषति or दुद्यूषति, सिसेविषति, सुस्यूषति ॥ ऋधु, अर्दिधिषति, ईर्त्सति ॥ भ्रस्ज, बिभ्रज्जिषति, (VI. 4. 47) बिभ्रक्षति, (VIII. 2. 36 and 41) बिभर्जिषति, बिभर्क्षति ॥ दम्भु, दिदम्भिषति, धिप्सति, (VII. 4. 56) धीप्सति, श्रि, शिश्रयिषति, शिश्रीषति ॥ स्वृ, सिस्वरिषति, सुस्वूर्षति ॥ यु, यियविषति, (VII. 4. 80) युयूषति, ऊर्णु, प्रोर्णुनविषति, प्रोर्णुनुविषति, प्रोर्णुनूषति, ॥ The root भृञ् of the Bhuâdi class is to be taken, as the form भर with शप् in the sûtra indicates. बिभरिषति, बुभूर्षति,॥ ज्ञपि, जिज्ञपयिषति, ज्ञीप्सति ॥ सन्, सिसनिषति, सिषासति ॥ केचिदत्रभरज्ञपिसनितनिपतिदरिद्राणामिति पठन्ति, ॥ तितनिषति, तितंसति, तितांसति, पिपतिषति, पित्सति, दिदरिद्रिषति, दिदरिद्रासति ॥ सनीति किम्, देविता, भ्रष्टा ॥

Some add तन्, पत् and दरिद्रा also, as तितनिषति or तितंसति or तितांसति, (VI. 4. 17) पिपतिषति or पित्सति (VII. 4. 54, VIII. 2. 29. VII. 4. 58) दिदरिद्रिषति or दिदरिद्रासति ॥ Why do we say 'Desiderative'? Observe देविता, भ्रष्टा ॥ The form अर्दिधिषति is thus evolved. The Desiderative root is अर्धिस, the ऋ being guṇated by VII. 3. 86 before सन् ॥ Now we reduplicate it, and the second syllable धिस् will be reduplicated by VI. 1. 2. and the रेफ is not duplicated by VI. 1. 3: so we get धिस् to reduplicate, and ध is changed to द ॥ The form ईर्त्सति is thus evolved. By VII. 4. 55, the ऋ is changed to long ई, which is followed by र् by I. 1. 57. Thus we have ईर्त्स् as root, and त्स is reduplicated, and the reduplicate is elided (VII. 4. 58). The forms धिप्सति and धीप्सति are similarly formed.

क्लिशः क्त्वानिष्ठयोः ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ क्लिशः, क्त्वा, निष्ठयोः ॥ ५० ॥
वृत्तिः । क्लिशः क्त्वानिष्ठयोर्वा इडागमो भवति ।

50. The affixes ktvâ, क्त and क्तवतु, may optionally take इट् after क्लिश् ॥

As क्लिष्ट्वा or क्लिशित्वा, क्लिष्टः or क्लिशितः, क्लिष्टवान् or क्लिशितवान् ॥ क्लिशू (IX. 50) having an indicatory ऊ would have optionally taken इट् before ktvâ by VII. 2. 44, but then the Nishṭhâ affixes by VII. 2. 15 would never have taken the augment. क्लिश् (Divâdi 52) उपतापे, being anudâtta would *always* have taken इट् before ktvâ and Nishṭhâ. Hence this rule ordains option with regard to ktvâ.

पूङश्च ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूङः, च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ पूङश्च क्त्वानिष्ठयोर्वा इडागमो भवति ।

51. The affixes ktvâ, क्त and क्तवतु optionally get इट् after पू ॥

As पूत्वा or पवित्वा, सोमोऽतिपूतः, सोमोऽतिपवितः पूतवान् or पवितवान् ॥ This allows option where by VII. 2. 11 there would have been prohibition. See I. 2. 22.

वसतिक्षुधोरिट् ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ वसति, क्षुधोः, इट् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ वसतेः क्षुधेश्च क्त्वानिष्ठयोरिडागमो भवति ।

52. The affix ktvâ, kta and ktavatu always receive the augment इट् after वस् (वसति) and क्षुध् ॥

As उषित्वा, उषितः and उषितवान्, क्षुधित्वा, क्षुधितः, क्षुधितवान् ॥ The वस् of the Adâdi class will get इट् as it is enumerated in the list of सेट् roots. The repetition of इट् shows that the rule is invariable, the 'optionally' of the preceding sûtra does not affect it.

अञ्चेः पूजायाम् ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अञ्चेः, पूजायाम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अञ्चेः पूजायामर्थे क्त्वानिष्ठयोरिडागमो भवति ।

53. The affixes ktvâ, kta and ktavatu take the augment इट् after the root अञ्च्, when meaning 'to honor or do something to show honor'.

As अञ्चित्वा जानु जुहोति, अञ्चिता अस्य गुरवः (III. 2. 188, VI. 4. 30, II. 3. 67) By VII. 2. 56 अञ्चु would optionally have caused इट् to come before ktvâ, and hence by VII. 2. 15 never before the Nishṭhâ. This sûtra ordains invariable addition of this augment. Why do we say when meaning 'to honor'? Observe उदक्तमुदकं कूपात्, 'the water is raised from the well'.

लुभो विमोहने ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ लुभः, विमोहने ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ लुभो विमोहनेऽर्थे वर्तमानात् क्त्वानिष्ठयोरिडागमो भवति ।

54. The affixes ktvâ, kta and ktavatu take इट् after the root लुभ् (Tud. 22) when meaning 'entangled or confused'.

As लुभित्वा and लोभित्वा, विलुभिताः केशाः, विलुभितः सीमन्तः, विलुभितानि पदानि ॥ विमोहनं = आकुलीकरणं ॥ By VII. 2. 48 लुभ would have optionally caused इट् to come before ktvâ, and then by VII. 2. 15 the Nishṭhâ would never have been सेट् ॥ Hence this sûtra. Why do we say when meaning 'to entangle'? See लुब्धः वृषलः = शीतेन पीडितः, ॥ लुभ् 'to be greedy' (Div. 128) is not governed by this rule, but by VII. 2. 48. As लुब्ध्वा or लोभित्वा and लुभित्वा (I. 2. 26) ॥

जॄव्रश्च्योः क्त्वि ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ जॄ, व्रश्च्योः, क्त्वि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जॄ व्रश्चि इत्येतयोः क्त्वाप्रत्यये इडागमो भवति ।

55. The affix ktvâ takes the augment इट्, after जॄ and व्रश्च् ॥

As जरित्वा or जरीत्वा, (VII. 2. 38) and व्रश्चित्वा ॥ जॄ was prohibited by VII. 2. 11. and व्रश्च would have been optionally सेट्, as it has an indicatory long ऊ, by VII. 2. 44. Hence this rule. The special mention of ktvâ, stops the anuvṛitti of kta and ktavatu.

उदितो वा ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदितः, वा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उदितो धातोः क्त्वाप्रत्यये परतो वा इडागमो भवति ।

56. The इट् is optionally the augment of ktvâ, after a root which has an indicatory short उ ॥

As शमु—शमित्वा or शान्त्वा; तमु—तमित्वा or तान्त्वा; दमु—दमित्वा or दान्त्वा ॥

से ऽसिचि कृतचृतच्छृदतृदनृतः ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ से, असिचि, कृत, चृत, छृद, तृद, नृतः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सकारादावसिच्यार्द्धधातुके कृत चृत छृद तृद नृत इत्येतेभ्यो धातुभ्यो वा इडागमो भवति ।

57. An ârdhadhâtuka affix beginning with a स् (except सिच् the characteristic of the s-Aorist) may optionally take the augment इट्, after the verbs कृत्, (Tud 141, Rudh. 11) चृत्, (Tud. 35) छृद् (Rudh. 8) तृद् (Tud. 9) and नृत् (Div. 9).

As कर्त्स्यति, अकर्त्स्यत्, चिकृत्सति कर्त्तिष्यति, अकर्त्तिष्यत् चिकर्त्तिषति । चृत, चर्त्स्यति अचर्त्स्यत्, चिचृत्सति, चर्त्तिष्यति, अचर्त्तिष्यत्, चिचर्त्तिषति । छृद, छर्त्स्यति । अच्छर्त्स्यत्, चिच्छृत्सति । छर्दिष्यति, अच्छर्दिष्यत् । चिच्छर्दिषति । तृद, तर्त्स्यति, अतर्त्स्यत्, तितृत्सति, तर्दिष्यति । अतर्दिष्यत् । तितर्दिषति । नृत, नर्त्स्यति, अनर्त्स्यत्, निनृत्सति, नर्त्तिष्यति । अनर्त्तिष्यत् । निनर्त्तिषति ।

Why do we say 'beginning with a स्'? Observe कर्त्तिता ॥ Why असिचि? Observe अकर्त्तीत् ॥

गमेरिट् परस्मैपदेषु ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ गमेः, इट्, परस्मैपदेषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गमेर्धातोः सकारादेरार्द्धधातुकस्य परस्मैपदेष्विडागमो भवति ।

इष्टिः ॥ आत्मनेपदेन समानपदस्थस्य गमेरयमिडागमो नेष्यते ॥

58. An ârdhadhatuka affix beginning with a स् gets the इट् augment, after गम् in the Parasmaipada.

As गमिष्यति, अगमिष्यत्, जिगमिषति ॥ Why of गम्? Observe नेष्यति ॥ The repetition of इट् shows that the rule is invariable. Why 'in the Parasmaipada'? Observe संगंसीष्ट, संगसीष्ट, संगंस्यते, संजिगंसते, संजिगंसिष्यते, अधिजिगांसते, अधिजिगांसिष्यते ॥

The lengthening takes place by VI. 4 16 when गम् is the substitute of the root इङ् (II. 4. 48) Why before स्? Observe गन्तास्मि, गन्तास्वः, गन्तास्मः ॥

Ishti: This इट् augment is not desired of the root गम् standing in the same pada with an atmanepada affix. But it occurs every where else. As जिगमिषिता इव आचरति = जिगमिषिष्यते, here there is इट् augment, because Âtmanepada affix is not in the same pada with गम्, but is bahiranga. Compare VII. 2. 36 *vart.* It occurs before kṛit affixes, and even where is luk-elsion of Parasmaipada affix, and where therefore the affix generally would have left no trace behind by I. 1. 63. As संजिगमिषिता and अधिजिगमिषिता व्याकरणस्य ॥ So also जिगमिषस्व, here there is luk-elision of the Imperative affix शि ॥ The opinion of the author of Padaśeshakâra is that the employment of the term Parsmaipada in the sûtra is illustrative. He explains it by saying:—परस्मैपदेषु यो गमिरुपलक्षित स्तस्मात् सकारादेरार्धधातुकस्य इट् भवति ॥ According to him we have the forms संजिगंसिता and अधिजिगंसिता व्याकरणस्य ॥

न वृद्भ्यश्चतुर्भ्यः ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, वृद्भ्यः, चतुर्भ्यः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वृतादिभ्यश्चतुर्भ्य उत्तरस्य सकारादेरार्द्धधातुकस्य परस्मैपदेषु इडागमो न भवति ।

59. The Parasmaipada ârdhadhâtuka affixes beginning with स् do not get the augment इट् after वृत् and the three roots that follow it.

Thus वृत्—वर्त्स्यति, अवर्त्स्यत्, विवृत्सति । वृध् वर्त्स्यति । अवर्त्स्यत् । विवृत्सति । शृध् । शर्त्स्यति । अशर्त्स्यत् शिशृत्सति । स्यन्दू । स्यन्त्सति । अस्यन्त्स्यत् ।

The वृतादि roots are four वृत्, वृध्, शृध् and स्यन्द् (Bhu. 795-798). In the examples, the Parasmaipada forms are shown, because these roots are optionally Parasmaipadi by I. 3. 92 before स्य and सन् ॥

Obj:—The word चतुर्भ्यः may conveniently have been omitted from the sûtra. A reference to the Dhâtupâṭha will show that the वृतादि roots form a subdivision of द्युतादि roots, and stand at the end of Dyutâdi class. So that the sûtra न वृद्भ्यः would have been enough, and there would have been no uncertainty or vagueness about it, for the word वृतादि would mean 'the roots वृत् &c. with which the Dyutâdi class ends'. Thus we shall get the *five* roots 795 वृतु वर्तने 796 वृधु वृद्धौ, 797 शृधु शब्दकुत्सायाम्; 798 स्यन्दू प्रस्रवणे and कृपू सामर्थ्ये ॥ As regards the last root कृपू, we shall find from the next sûtra, that the present sûtra applies to this root also. Or we can change the order of the roots, putting कृपू first, and वृतु &c after it, so that वृतादि will mean *four* roots only. Whether vṛitâdi be taken to mean the *five* or the *four* roots, the word चतुर्भ्यः is redundant.

Ans:—The word चतुर्भ्यः is used in order that the prohibition contained in this sûtra may debar the 'option' which the root स्यन्दू would have taken, because of its indicatory long ऊ (VII. 2. 44). For this 'option' is an antaranga operation, because it applies to *all* Ârdhadhâtuka affixes; while the 'prohibition' of the present sûtra is a bahiranga, because it applies to those affixes only which

begin with स ॥ So that the 'prohibition' of this sûtra would not have debarred the 'option' of VII. 2. 44: and in the Parasmaipada स्यन्दू would have had two forms; which, however, is not the case because of the word चतुर्भ्यः by which the 'prohibiton' is extended to स्यन्दू also. Thus in the Parasmaipada, we have only one form, as, स्यन्त्स्यति; but in the Atmanepada we have *two* forms स्यन्दिष्यते or स्यन्त्स्यते ॥

The word 'Parsmaipada' is understood in this sûtra, so that the prohibition does not apply to âtmanepada affixes: as वर्त्तिषीष्ट, वर्तिष्यते, अवर्तिष्यत्, विवर्तिष्यते, स्यन्दिषीष्ट or स्यन्त्सीष्ट ॥ Moreover, with regard to Atmanepada also, the इट् is added to these roots when they stand in the same 'pada' with the affixes. But when the Atmanepada affixes are added not to the *roots* 'vṛit &c', but to the *roots* which are derived from the *nominal* bases formed from 'vṛit &c', then the '*root*' is not in the same pada with the affix, and the prohibition of this sûtra will apply. As विवृत्सिष्यते ॥ Moreover, the rule applies, as we have said, to the affixes standing in the same 'pada' with the 'roots'; therefore it will apply to Desiderative roots, as विवृत्सति, though शप् here intervenes between the ârdhadhatuka affix सन् and the Parasmaipada तिप्; so also, an ekâdeśa though sthânivat and therefore an intervention, will not be considered so for the purposes of this rule, as विवृत्सिष्यति; so also in विवृत्सयति ॥ The prohibition, moreover, applies to कृत् affixes, and where there is luk-elision of Parasmaipada affixes. As विवृत्सिता; and विवृत्स स्वम् where the Imperative हि is luk-elided, and being so elided, the force of Parasmaipada does not here remain by न लुमताङ्गस्य (I. 1. 63); hence the above *Ishti.*

तासि च क्लृपः ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ तासि, च, क्लृपः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्लृप उत्तरस्य तासेः सकारादेश्चार्द्धधातुकस्य परस्मैपदेषु इडागमो न भवति ।

60. The Parasmaipada ârdhadhâtuka affixes beginning with स्, and the affix तास् (the sign of the Periphrastic Future) do not get the augment इट्, after the root क्लृप् ॥

Thus कल्प्ता, कल्प्स्यति, अकल्प्स्यत्, चिक्लृप्स्यति ॥ But कल्पितासे, कल्पिषीष्ट, कल्पिष्यते, अकल्पिष्यत, चिकल्पिषते in the Âtmanepada.

In the case of क्लृप् also, the इट् is added to the ârdhadhâtuka affixes in the Atmanepada, when the root stands in the same pada with the affixes and there is prohibition everywhere else. So also there is prohibition before kṛit-affixes, and the luk-elision of Parasmaipada. As चिक्लृप्सिता, चिक्लृप्स त्वं ॥

According to Padamanjari, these two sûtras could have been shortened thus:—(1) न वृद्भ्यः पञ्चभ्यः, (2) तासि च; and "क्लृपः" could well have been omitted. The तास् comes only after क्लृप and not after other roots of Vṛitâdi class, in Parasmaipada [I. 3. 92 and 93]. Therefore, there is no fear that the prohibition तासि च will apply to the other roots of vṛitâdi, but only to 'klip', because

the word परस्मैपदेषु is understood here; and as no roots of vritadi class take Parasmaipada in the Periphrastic Future except 'klip', there is no fear of any ambiguity.

अचस्तास्वत्थल्यनिटो नित्यम् ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अचः, तास्वत्, थलि, अनिटः, नित्यम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तासौ ये नित्यानिटो धातवोऽजन्तास्तेभ्यस्तासाविव थलीडागमो न भवति ।

61. After a root, which ends in a vowel, and after which the Per. Fut. affix tâsi is always devoid of the augment इट्; (after such a root) थल् the personal ending of the Perfect, like तास्, does not also get the augment इट् ॥

Those vowel-ending roots in Dhâtupâṭha which are *invariably* aniṭ before the affix तास् (Peri. Future), are also aniṭ before the Perfect ending थल् ॥ As याता (Peri-Fut.), ययाथ (Per), चेता, चिचेथ, नेता, निनेथ; होता जुहोथ ॥ Why 'ending in a vowel'? Observe भत्ता, बिभेदिथ ॥ Why 'like तास्? Observe लुवा but लुलविथ, Why 'थल्'? Observe याता but ययिव, ययिम ॥ The word नित्यं qualifies अनिट्, if therefore तास् be *optionally* aniṭ, then the थल् will be सेट् *always*. As तास्—विधोता or विधविता ; the थल् is विदुधविथ ॥

Here इट् is optional before तास् by VII. 2. 44. Similarly चक्रमिथ, for क्रम् is aniṭ in âtmanepada, and सेट् in Parasmaipada. In fact, whereever there is want of इट्, whether by complete prohibition or optional prohibition, all that is regulated by VII. 2. 13: this is the view adopted by the Kâśikâ. But another view is that the prohibition of this sûtra applies to the इट् of VII. 2. 13 only, but does not debar the option of VII. 2. 44; so they have two forms विदुधोथ and विदुधविथ ॥ This view is applied by them to VII. 2. 46, as सस्वर्थ or सस्वरिथ (VII. 2. 44).

Why have we used the word वत् in तास्वत्? The force of वत् is that the root should have a form in तास् and then be aniṭ; and if a root has no Periphrastic Future form, and thus its तास् is aniṭ,, such a root is not governed by this sûtra. As जघसिथ and उवयिथ ॥ Here the roots घस् and वय् the substitutes of अद् and वेञ् respectively have no Periphrastic Future form, and hence this rule does not apply to them.

उपदेशेऽत्वतः ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपदेशे, अत्वतः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपदेशे यो धातुरकारवान् तासौ नित्यानिट् तस्मात्तासाविवथलीडागमो न भवति ।

62. After a root which possesses a short अ as its root-vowel in the original enunciation (the Dhâtupâṭha), and after which the Peri-Fut. तास् is always devoid of the augment इट्, थल् the Personal ending of the Perfect, like तास्, does not get the augment इट् ॥

As Fut. पक्ता, Per. पपक्थ, यष्टा, इयष्ट, शक्ता, शशक्थ ॥ Why do we say 'in the Original Enunciation'? Observe Fut. कर्ष्टा Per. चकर्षिथ in which the अ of 'karsh' is the result of guṇa substitution. Why do we say 'having an अ'? Observe Fut भेत्ता Per बिभेदिथ, here the root-vowel is इ ॥ Why do we say "*short* अ"? Observe Fut. राद्धा Per. रराधिथ from राध् the root-vowel being long आ ॥ The word तास्वत् is understood here also. Therefore we have जिघृक्षति, जग्रहिथ ॥ Here the root ग्रह is aniṭ before सन् (VII. 2. 12) and not before तास् so it will not be aniṭ before थ ॥ The words नित्यं अनिटः are also understood here. Therefore the rule does not apply to आनञ्जिथ (VII. 4. 71, 72). For the root अञ्जू (VII. 21) takes *optionally* इट् before तास् (VII. 2. 44) as अञ्जिता and अङ्क्ता ॥

ऋतो भारद्वाजस्य ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋतः, भारद्वाजस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋकारान्ताद्धातोर्भारद्वाजस्याचार्यस्य मतेन तासाविव नित्यानिटस्थलि इडागमो न भवति ।

63. In the opinion of Bhâradvâja, it is only after a root which ends in short ऋ, and after which the Peri-Fut. तास् is always devoid of the augment इट्, that थल् also, like तास्, does not take the augment इट् ॥

As स्मर्त्ता, सस्मर्थ, ध्वर्त्ता, दध्वर्थ ॥ The ऋ roots are covered by VII. 2. 61; the specification of these roots makes a restriction, so that *all* other roots, are not aniṭ, though the Peri-Fut in तास् be aniṭ. So that according to Bhâradwâja, we have forms like ययिथ, वयिथ, पेचिथ, शेकिथ ॥ Thus this sûtra makes the preceding two sûtras optional, except so far as short ऋ-ending roots are concerned.

As a general rule, all roots ending in long ॠ are सेट्; therefore, the sutra mentions *short* ऋ, in order to debar its application to long ॠ ending words. Had it not been so, this rule would have been a *vidhi* rule and not a *niyama*: because rule VII. 2. 61 does not apply to long ॠ ending roots, and so if the present sûtra were to include long ॠ also, it could not be called a *niyama* (restriction) of VII. 2. 61.

बभुथाततन्थजगृम्भववर्थेति निगमे ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ बभुथ, आततन्थ, जगृम्भ ववर्थ, इति, निगमे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बभूथ आततन्थ जगृम्भ ववर्थ इत्येतानि निपात्यन्ते निगमविषये ।

64. In the Veda are found the irregular forms बभूथ, आततन्थ, जगृम्भ and ववर्थ ॥

As त्वं हि होता प्रथमो बभूथ (=बभूविथ); येनान्तरिक्षमुर्वाततन्थ (=आतेनिथ), जगृम्भा ते दक्षिणमिन्द्र हस्तम् (=जगृहिम), ववर्थ त्वं हि ज्योतिषा (=ववरिथ). See VII. 2. 13. This is also a niyama rule with regard to वृ for by VII.2.13 the root वृ was already aniṭ, and its Perfect would have been ववर्थ by that rule. The special mention of this form shows that in secular literature this root is always सेट् before थ of the Perfect.

विभाषा सृजिदृशोः ॥ ६५ ॥ विभाषा, सृजि-दृशोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सृजि दृशि इत्येतयोस्थलि विभाषा इडागमो न भवति ।

65. थल् the Personal ending of the Perfect, optionally gets the augment इट् after सृज् and दृश् ॥

As सस्रष्ठ or ससर्जिथ, द्रष्ठ or ददर्शिथ ॥ See VI. 1. 58 for अम् augment.

इडत्त्यर्तिव्ययतीनाम् ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ इट्, अत्ति-आर्ति-व्ययतीनाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अत्ति अर्त्ति व्ययति इत्येतेषां थलीडागमो भवति ।

66. The affix थल् gets always the augment इट् after अद्, ऋ and व्यय् ॥

As आदिथ, आरिथ, and संविव्ययिथ ॥ The root व्येञ् is not changed to व्या (VI. 1. 46) in the Perfect. By VII. 2. 63, the roots अद् and व्ये would have *optionally* been सेट्, and ऋ never ; therefore, the present sûtra makes the इट् augment compulsory. The इट् is repeated in the aphorism for the sake of clearness, the rule could have stood without it, for the anuvṛitti of 'optionally' could not have run into it from the last sûtra: for if it was an optional sûtra, the enumeration of अद् and व्ये was useless, as they were already provided for by VII. 2. 63. Therefore, this sûtra makes an invariable rule.

वस्वेकाजाद्घसाम् ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ वसु, एकाच्-आत्-घसाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृतद्विर्वचनानामेकाचां धातूनाम् आकारान्तानां घसेश्च वसाविडागमो भवति ।

67. The Participial affix वसु (वस्) gets the augment इट् only then when the reduplicated root before it consists of one syllable, or when it comes after a root ending in long आ, and after घस् ॥

Thus आदिवान्, आशिवान्, पेचिवान्, शेकिवान् ॥ In the first two of these, the reduplicate stems आद् and आश् become of one syllable by the coalescence of अ अद् and अअश् ॥ In पेच् and शेक् the reduplicate is elided and the vowel अ changed to ए, and thus the reduplicate has become of one syllable. Of roots ending in आ we have, ययिवान्, तस्थिवान्, of घस्—जक्षिवान् ॥ This वसु would have taken the augment by the general rule of इट् increment, the present sûtra makes a niyama, so that the roots which are not monosyllabic in their reduplicate form are aniṭ : as बिभिद्वान्, चिच्छिद्वान्, बभूवान्, शिश्रिवान् ॥ The niyama is made with regard to the roots which would have taken इट् generally, as not being governed by the prohibition in VII.2.13. The roots ending in long आ may consist of more than one syllable in their reduplicate form, as यांया + वसु, hence their separate enumeration: as a matter of fact, however, these reduplicates also become monosyllabic ultimately by losing their आ ॥ The root दरिद्रा is not governed by this rule, for its Perfect will be formed periphrastically by III. 1. 35 Vârt, because

it consists of more than one syllable: as दरिद्रांचकार ॥ And when आम् is not added, there also दरिद्रा loses its final आ before ârdhadhâtuka affixes by the vârtika under VI. 4. 114. So the आ being elided before the adding of any affix, this becomes a root which no longer ends in आ, and so the cause of adding इट् under this sûtra no longer exists, and so no इट् is added. Thus we have ददरिद्वान्, for before ârdhadhâtuka affixes दरिद्रा loses its आ (VI. 4. 114 Vârt), and this elision being considered as *siddha*, (VI. 4. 114 Vârt), no occasion remains for the augment इट् ॥ The घस् becomes जक्ष् in its reduplicate form (a stem of one syllable), but had it not been separately mentioned, then by VI. 4. 100, the penultimate अ of घस् would have been elided first, before reduplication, because VI. 4. 100, is subsequent in order to the rule ordaining reduplication (VI. 1. 14 &c). The अ being elided, we should have घ्स् only, which not having any vowel, could not be reduplicated. By its separate enumeration here, the augment इट् being ordained by a subsequent rule (VII. 2. 67), prevents even the rule of elision (VI. 4. 100). Having, therefore, *first* added इट्, we *then* elide the penultimate अ by VI. 4. 98, this elided अ, however, becomes sthânivat for the purposes of reduplication only by I. 1. 59. Thus घस्+इवस्=घ्स्+इवस्(VI. 4. 98)=जक्ष्+इवस्=जक्षिवान् ॥

विभाषा गमहनविदविशाम् ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, गम-हन-विद्-विशाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गम हन विद विश इत्येतेषां धातूनां वसौ विभाषा इडागमो भवति ।

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ दृशेश्चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

68. The affix वसु (क्वसु) optionally takes इट् after गम्, हन्, विद् and विश् ॥

As गम्—जग्मिवान् or जगन्वान् (म् changed to न् by VIII. 2. 64); हन्—जघ्निवान् or जघन्वान्, (VII. 2. 54 and 55) विद्—विविदिवान् or विविद्वान्, विश्—विविशिवान् or विविश्वान् ॥ The root विद् 'to acquire' belongs to the Tudâdi class, as it is read here with the Tudâdi विश् ॥ The root विद् 'to know' (II. 55. IV. 62), forms *invariably* विविद्वान् because it is âtmanepadi and cannot take इट् augment before वसु affix.

Vârt:—The root दृश् should also be enumerated. As ददृशिवान् and ददृश्वान् ॥

सनिं ससनिवांसम् ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ सनिम्-ससनिवांसम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सनोतेः सनतेर्वा धातोः सनिंससनिवांसमिति निपात्यते ।

69. The form ससनिवांसम् with सनिं is irregularly formed.

This is derived from सनोति or सनति root. As अग्ने सनिं ससनिवांसम् ॥ The augment इट् is added, there is no change of अ of सन् to ए, nor the elision of the reduplicate before वसु ॥ The other form is सनिवांसम् when not preceded by सनिम् ॥ This form ससनिवांसम् is Vedic, in secular literature we have सेनिवांसम् ॥

ऋद्धनोः स्ये ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋद्त-हनोः, स्ये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋकारान्तानां धातूनां हन्तेश्च स्ये इडागमो भवति ।

70. स्य the sign of the Future and Conditional gets the augment इट्, after a root ending in short ऋ and after हन् ॥

As करिष्यति, हनिष्यति, हरिष्यति ॥ The root स्वृ takes always इट् before स्य, though it does so optionally before other affixes (see VII. 2. 44): as स्वरिष्यति ॥ Similarly अकरिष्यत्, अहरिष्यत्, अहनिष्यत् &c ॥

अञ्जेः सिचि ॥ ७१ ॥ अञ्जेः, सिचि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अञ्जेः सिचि इडागमो भवति ।

71. The स् of the s-Aorist always takes the इट् after अञ्ज् (Rudh. 21).

As आञ्जीत्, आञ्जिष्टाम्, आञ्जिषुः ॥ But अङ्क्ता or अञ्जिता in tenses other than Aorist. The root having an indicatory long ऊ optionally takes इट् (VII. 2. 44.)

स्तुसुधूञ्भ्यः परस्मैपदेषु ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्तु, सु, धूञ्भ्यः, परस्मैपदेषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्तु सु धूञ् इत्येतेभ्यः सिचि परस्मैपदे परत इडागमो भवति ॥

72. The सिच् of the s-Aorist gets the इट् in the Parasmaipada after the roots स्तु, सु and धूञ् ॥

As अस्तावीत्, असावीत्, अधावीत् ॥ But अस्तोष्ट, असोष्ट, अधोष्ट or अधविष्ट in Atmanepada. Exception to VII. 2. 10 and 44.

यमरमनमातां सक्च ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ यम, रम, नम, आताम्, सक्, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यम रम नम इत्येतेषामङ्गानामाकारान्तानां च सगागमो भवति परस्मैपदे सिचि इडागमश्च ॥

73. The सिच् of the Aorist in the Parasmaipada takes the augment इट् after यम्, रम्, नम् and roots ending in long आ, and स् (सक्) is added at the end of these stems.

Thus अयंसीत्, अयंसिष्टाम्, अयंसिषुः ॥ व्यरंसीत् । व्यरंसिष्टाम् । व्यरंसिषुः ॥ The root रम् is Parasmaipadi when preceded by वि or आ (I. 3. 83). अनंसीत् । अनंसिष्टाम् अनंसिषुः ॥ आकारान्तानाम् । अयासीत् । अयासिष्टाम् ; अयासिषुः । यमादीनां हलन्तलक्षणा वृद्धिः प्राप्ता सा नेटीति प्रतिषिध्यते । परस्मैपदेष्वित्येव । आयंस्त । अरंस्त । अनंस्त ॥

The Vṛiddhi in the case of यम् &c. ordained by VII. 2. 3, does not take place by VII. 2. 4. In the Atmanepada we have आयंस्त ॥ The root यम् is âtmanepadi, as it is preceded by आ (I. 3. 75) अरंस्त, अनंस्त (III. 1. 85). Exception to VII. 2. 10, 44.

स्मिपूङ्रञ्ज्वशां सनि ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्मि, पूङ्, ऋ अञ्जू, अशू सनि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्मिङ् पूङ् ऋ अञ्जू अशू इत्येतेषां धातूनां सनीडागमो भवति ॥

74. The Desiderative सन् gets the augment इट् after the roots स्मिङ्, पूङ्, ऋ, अञ्जू and अशू ॥

Thus सिस्मयिषते, पिपविषते (VII.4.80) अरिरिषति, अञ्जिजिषति (VI. 1. 2 and 3) and अशिशिषते ॥ The root पूञ् is not governed by this rule, as पुपूषति ॥ The अशू (V. 18) of Suâdi class is taken here, and not अश् (IX. 51) of Kryâdi class, for the latter *always* has इट्, while the former having an indicatory long ऊ has *optionally* इट् ॥

किरश्च पञ्चभ्यः ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ किरः, च, पञ्चभ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ किरादिभ्यः पञ्चभ्यः सनि इडागमो भवति ॥

75. The desiderative सन् takes इट् after कॄ and the four roots that follow it (Tud. 116-120)

Thus चिकरिषति, जिगरिषति, दिदरिषते, दिधरिषते, पिप्रच्छिषति (I. 2. 8; VI. 1. 16). But सिसृक्षति not included in the five. The roots कॄ and गॄ would have optionally got इट् in the desiderative by VII. 2. 41, which would have been optionally lengthened by VII. 2. 38. But the इट् here being specifically ordained, does not get lengthened by VII. 2. 38.

रुदादिभ्यः सार्वधातुके ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ रुदादिभ्यः, सार्वधातुके ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रुदादिभ्य उत्तरस्य वलादेः सार्वधातुकस्य इडागमो भवति ॥

76. A sârvadhâtuka affix beginning with a consonant other than a य, gets the augment इट् after the root रुद् and the four that follow it (Ad. 58-62)

Thus रोदिति, स्वपिति, श्वसिति, प्राणिति, जक्षिति ॥ But जागर्ति which is beyond the five, and स्वप्ता before ârdhadhâtuka affixes, and रुदन्ति before a vowel beginning affix.

ईशः से ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ईशः, से ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ईश उत्तरस्य से इत्येतस्य सार्वधातुकस्य इडागमो भवति ॥

77. The sârvadhâtuka affix से (the ending of the second Person Present and Imperative Atmanepada) gets the augment इट् after ईश् (Ad. 10)

As ईशिषे and ईशिष्व ॥ से becomes स्व by III. 4. 91 and 80. The से is exhibited in the sûtra without any case-ending.

ईडजनोर्ध्वे च ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ ईड्, जनोः, ध्वे, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ईड जन इत्येताभ्यामुत्तरस्य ध्वे इत्येतस्य स इत्येतस्य च सार्वधातुकस्य इडागमो भवति ॥

78. The sârvadhâtuka affix से and ध्वे, (the endings of the Present and Imperative Atmanepadi) get the augment इट् after the roots ईड् (Ad. 9) and जन् ॥

Thus ईडिध्वे, ईडिध्वम्, ईडिषे, ईडिष्व, जनिध्वे, जनिध्वम्, जनिषे, जनिष्व ॥ The root जनी (IV. 41) is taken here. The Vikaraṇa श्यन् has been elided in this case, as a Vedic irregularity, and so also there is not elision of the penultimate.

In the secular literature the form is जायसे ॥ Here the स would 'prohibit इट् always. The जन् of the third class (III. 24) is also to be included, thus we have व्यतिजज्ञिषे. व्यतिजज्ञिध्वे, व्यतिजज्ञिध्वे, व्यतिजज्ञिध्वम् in karma vyatihâra. Otherwise this root is Parasmaipadi. ध्व takes इट after ईश् also, as ईशिध्वम् ॥

For this purpose, some read the sûtra as ईडजनोः सध्वे च; and स stands here for से having its Locative dropped, and therefore the force of च in the sûtra, according to this reading, is to draw in the anuvṛitti of ईश from the previous sûtra. Those who do not follow this reading, draw the whole of the last sûtra by force of च ॥ From these it may be asked, what is then the necessity of *two* sûtras? Could not one sûtra, like this, ईशीड्जनां सध्वयोः, have sufficed, as being shorter and more general? To this there is no better valid answer than this विचित्रा हि सूत्रस्य कृतिः पाणिनेः ॥

The form ध्वे being taken in the sûtra, the rule will not apply to the ध्वम् of लङ् (Imperfect): which will not take इट् ॥ But इट् will apply to the ध्वम् of the Imperative on the maxim एकदेशविकृतस्यानन्यत्वात् ॥

लिङः सलोपो ऽनन्त्यस्य ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिङः, स, लोपः, अनन्त्यस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सार्वधातुकइति वर्तते, सार्वधातुके यो लिङ् तस्य अनन्त्यस्य सकारस्य लोपो भवति ॥

79. In the sârvadhâtuka Lin (i. e. Potential), the स् which is not final (i.e. the स् of the augments यासु and सीय्), is elided.

What is the स which is not final? The स of the augments यासुट्, सुट् and सीयुट् ॥ Thus कुर्यात्, कुर्याताम्, कुर्युः, कुर्वीत, कुर्वीयाताम्, कुर्वीरन् ॥ Why 'not the final'? Observe कुर्युः, कुर्याः ॥ Why in the Sârvadhâtuka? Observe क्रियास्ताम्, क्रियासुः, कृषीष्ट, कृषीयास्ताम्, कृषीरन् in the Benedictive.

अतो येयः ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ अतः, या, इयः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अकारान्तादङ्गादुत्तरस्य या इत्येतस्य सार्वधातुकस्य इय् इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

80. After a Present stem ending in short अ, इय् is substituted for the sârvadhâtuka या (i.e. for the या of the augment यासु of the Potential).

Thus पचेत्, पचेताम् and पचेयुः ॥ The य् of इय् is elided before affixes beginning with a consonant by VI. 1. 66. In the case of पचेयुः, the pararûpa of VI. 1. 96 is prevented. Why 'ending in a short अ'? Observe चिनुयात्, सुनुयात् ॥ Why '*short*'? Observe यायात् ॥ Why sârvadhâtuka? Observe चिकीर्ष्यात् ॥

The objector may say, the form चिकीर्ष्यात् will be so by the elision of अ under VI. 4. 48, and so there is no necessity of reading the anuvṛtti of sârvadhâtuka in this sûtra; for when अ is elided by अतोलोपः VI. 4. 48, in the case of ârdhadhâtuka या the present rule cannot apply, as there is no base left

which ends in अ ॥ To this we reply, this is not a good reason: for then in the case of पचेत् and यजेत् also, the rule अतो दीर्घो यञि (VII. 3. 101) would apply, and the अ of पच would require to be lengthened. But that is not so. The fact is that the present sûtra debars rule VII. 3. 101. Therfore, as this इय् substitute debars the lengthening of VII. 3. 101, so it would debar the *lopa* of VI. 4. 48. Therefore, if the anuvṛitti of sârvadhâtuka be not read into this sûtra, the इय् substitute would apply to ârdhadhâtuka also, and the lopa-elision VI. 4. 48 would not help, as that would be superseded by this special rule. Therefore the aunvṛitti of "sârvadhâtuka" should be read into this sûtra.

The above is stated on general grounds. But if the maxim मध्येऽपवादाः पूर्वान् विधीन् बाधन्ते नोत्तरान् (Apavâdas that are surrounded by the rules which teach operations that have to be superseded by the apavâda operations, supersede only those rules that precede, not those that follow them) be applied here, then the present sûtra would supersede only the preceding sûtra VI. 4. 48 and not the following sûtra VII. 3. 101 which would not be superseded by the present sûtra. In this view also, the lopa being superseded at all events, the anuvṛitti of 'Sârvadhâtuka' must be read into this sûtra.

In the दीर्घ rule VII. 3. 101, the word 'sârvadhâtuka' is understood from VII. 3. 95. But according to some, the word तिङि of VII. 3. 88 is also understood there, so that they would lengthen the अ, before a sârvadhâtuka personal termination (तिङ्) only, and not before every sârvadhâtuka affix in general. According to this view, the present sûtra will debar only the dîrgha rule (VII. 3. 101) and not the lopa rule (VI. 4. 48), on the maxim येन ना प्राप्ति &c.

The word येयः in the sûtra is formed by या + इयः; and या is exhibited without any case-termination. Others say, the word is यः the sixth case of या formed on the analogy of विश्वपः by the elision of आ (VI. 4. 140). Then यः + इयः = य + इयः (VIII. 3. 19) after this elision, there ordinarily would take place no sandhi; as this elision is considered asiddha (VIII. 2. 1) for the purposes of VI. 1. 87. Contrary to this general rule, however, the sandhi takes place here and we have येयः by VI. 1. 87. The अ in इयः is for the sake of pronunciation only. The real substitute is इय् ॥

Some read the sûtra as अतो यासियः ॥ So that the sthânî is यास् and not या, and यासियः is a genitive compound.

आतो ङितः ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ आतः, ङितः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आकारस्य ङित्ववयवस्य अकारान्तादङ्गादुत्तरस्य सार्वधातुकस्य इय् इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

81. For the आ being a portion of a sarvadhâtuka Personal ending which is ङित् (i.e. आते, आथे, आताम् and आथाम्), coming after a Verbal stem ending in short अ, there is substituted इय् ॥

Thus पचेते, पचेथे, पचेताम्, पचेथाम्, यजेते, यजेथे, यजेथाम्, शास्येथे, शास्येते ॥ The य् of इय् drops by VI. 1. 66. Why do we say "the long आ"? Observe पचन्ति, यजन्ति, पचन्ते, यजन्ते ॥ Why do we say 'a ङित् affix'? Observe पचावहे, पचामहे (I. 2. 4). Why do we say 'ending in short अ'? Observe चिन्वाते, सुन्वाते ॥ Why 'short'? Observe मिमाते, मिमाथे ॥

All sârvadhâtuka affixes which have not an indicatory प् are ङित् by I. 2. 4. Now सार्वधातुकमपित् (I. 2. 4) is a sûtra in which the word ङित् is understood from I. 2. 1. But the grammatical construction of the word ङित् in the two sûtras I. 2. 1 and I. 2. 4 is not the same. In the first sûtra, it means ङिति इव = ङित्वत्, i. e. the roots गा कुट् &c are treated in the same way as they would have been treated, had a ङित् affix *followed*. But in the second sûtra I. 2. 4, the word ङिद्वत् is equal to ङित इव "like of ङित्" ॥ The sûtra I. 2. 1. is so explained in order to evolve the form उच्चुकुटिषति ॥ For when the सन् is added to कुट्, the root कुट् is treated as if the सन् was a ङित् affix, and so there is no guṇa. But if सन् itself had become ङित् then the Desiderative root चुकुटिष्, being a ङित् root would require âtmanepada affixes by अनुदात्तङित आत्मनेपदम् (I. 3. 12). In the case, however, of sârvadhâtuka-apit-affixes, the affixes themselves become like ङित्, and are treated as ङित् affixes, not only with regard to the stem *preceding* them, but with regard to their own selves also, as we see in the present sûtra.

आने मुक् ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ आने, मुक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आने परतोऽङ्गस्यातो मुगागमो भवति ॥

82. Before the Participial ending आन, a verbal stem ending in short अ, gets the augment मुक् ॥

Thus पचमानः, यजमानः ॥

This मुक् is part and parcel of अ only, and not of the anga. For if मुक् be considered as part of the aṅga, then it will be an intervention, and make the aṅga end in a consonant and so there will be anomaly in accent. For by VI. 1. 186, the ल sârvadhâtuka affix is anudâtta after a stem ending in अ; so if मुक् be considered part of the anga, the stem no longer ends in अ but म्; but if it be considered as a portion of अ only, then the aṅga still remains अदुपदेश (VI. 1. 186). So the accent of पचमानः and यजमानः is governed by VI. 1. 186.

An objector may say, "if this be so, then the stem पचम् is still considered as ending in अ, and therefore in पचम्+आन, we should apply the previous sûtra VII. 2. 81, and change आ into इय्" ॥ To this we reply, 'no, it cannot be so; for the त् in अत् (VII. 2. 80) shows that the अ consisting of *one mâtrâ* is to be taken, but when मुक् is added, this अ becmes *one mâtrâ and half*, so the rule VII. 2. 81 will not apply; because it applies only to अ of *one mâtrâ*." The objector:—"If this is so, then the anudâtta of VI. 1. 186 will not also hold good, for there also the अत् means the अ of one mâtrâ." This is no valid objection. For there the word उपदेश is taken, so that a stem which at the time

of upadeśa or first enunciation, ends in a short अ of one mâtrâ, is governed by that rule; though after the enunciation, the short अ may be lengthened in its mâtrâ. It is for this reason that the rule VI. 1.186 applies to पचावः and पचामः; though the short अ is subsequently lengthened before व and म by VII. 3. 101.

Or the sûtra may have been made as आनस्य मुट्, and the augment म् would then be added to आन and not to the verbal stem. All the above difficulties would be removed by this view. But then the final अ of पच &c would require to be lengthened before आन by VII. 3. 101. This objection, however, is not insuperable, for one view of VII. 3. 101 is that the word तिङि is understood there, so that the lengthening would take place only before a तिङ् affix beginning with a यञ् vowel: and not before any other affix.

ईदासः ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ईत्, आसः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आस उत्तरस्यानस्य ईकारादेशो भवति ॥

83. ई is substituted for the आ of आनि, after आस् ॥

Thus आसीनो यजते ॥ (See I. 1. 54 by which the *first* letter of the *second* term after आसः which is exhibited in the Ablative is taken here). The आने which is in the 7th case in the last aphorism, should be taken in the 6th case in this.

अष्टन आ विभक्तौ ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अष्टनः, आ, विभक्तौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अष्टनो विभक्तौ परत आकारादेशो भवति ॥

84. आ is substituted for the final of अष्टन् before a case-ending.

Thus अष्टाभिः, अष्टाभ्यः, अष्टानाम्, अष्टासु ॥ Why 'before a *case-ending*'? Observe अष्टत्वम्, अष्टता ॥ The rule of this sûtra is an optional one, and we have in the alternative अष्टभिः, अष्टभ्यः ॥ The आ in the sûtra indicates the *individual* letter आ, and not आ belonging to the general class आ ॥ For the generic आ would include the nasalised आँ also, and as the letter replaced (अन्) is a nasal, the substitute would have been also nasal आँ, but it is not so. See VI. 1. 172 and VII. 1. 22. This rule applies also when the word stands at the end of a compound, as प्रियाष्टानः or प्रियाष्टौः (VII. 1. 22). The word विभक्ति governs the subsequent sûtras upto VII. 2. 114.

रायो हलि ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ रायः, हलि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रै इत्येतस्य हलादौ विभक्तौ परत आकारादेशो भवति ॥

85. Before a case-ending beginning with a consonant, आ is substituted for the final of रै ॥

As राभ्याम्, राभिः, ॥ But रायौ, रायः before affixes beginning with a vowel. Why 'a case ending'? Observe रैत्वम्, रैता ॥

युष्मदस्मदोरनादेशे ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ युष्मद, अस्मदोः, अनादेशे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ युष्मदस्मदित्येतयोरनादेशे विभक्तौ परत आकारादेशो भवति ॥

86. आ is substituted for the final of युष्मद् and अस्मद् before a case-ending, beginning with a consonant, when it is not a substitute.

The substitute case-endings are given in VII. 1. 27 &c. Thus युष्माभिः अस्माभिः, युष्मासु, अस्मासु ॥ Why do we say 'when it is not a substitute'? Observe युष्मत् and अस्मत् (VII. 1 31). The anuvṛitti of हलि need not be read into this sûtra from the preceding, for if that were so, the mention of अनादेशे would become redundant, because as a matter of fact no *substitute* case-ending begins with a consonant. However, reading this sûtra with VII. 2. 89, we find that the scope of the present sûtra is before consonant beginning affixes.

द्वितीयायां च ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वितीयायाम्, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वितीयायां च परतो युष्मदस्मदोराकारादेशो भवति ॥

87. आ is substituted for the final of युष्मद् and अस्मद् before the endings of the Accusative.

As त्वाम्, माम्, युवाम्, आवाम्, युष्मान् and अस्मान् ॥ This rule applies to endings which are even substitutes, otherwise the last rule would have been sufficient. See VII. 2. 28, 29, and VII. 2. 92 and 97.

प्रथमायाश्च द्विवचने भाषायाम् ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रथमायाः, च, द्विवचने, भाषायाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रथमायाश्च द्विवचने परतो भाषायां विषये युष्मदस्मदोराकारादेशो भवति ॥

88. आ is substituted for the final of युष्मद् and अस्मद् before the ending of the Nom. Du. in the Secular literature.

As युवाम्, आवाम् ॥ Why of the nomnative? Observe युवयोः, आवयोः ॥ Why in the Dual? Observe त्वं, अहं, यूयं, वयं ॥ Why in the secular literature? Observe युवं वस्त्राणि पीवसा वसाथे in the Veda, so also आवम् ॥

योऽचि ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ यः, अचि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अजादौ विभक्तावनादेशे युष्मदस्मदोर्यकारादेशो भवति ॥

89. य is substituted for the final of युष्मद् and अस्मद् before a case-ending, which is not a substitute, and which begins with a vowel.

Thus त्वया, मया, त्वयि, मयि, युवयोः, आवयोः ॥ Why do we say 'beginning with a vowel'? Observe युवाभ्याम्, आवाभ्याम् ॥ If in the sûtra VII. 2. 86, we read the anuvṛitti of हलि, we need not use अचि in the present sûtra. For then this sûtra will be a general (utsarga) aphorism, ordaining य before *all* non-substitute case-endings; and the sûtra VII. 2. 86, will be considered an exception (apavâda) to this, with regard to those case-endings which begin with a consonant, where आ will be ordained. In this view of the case, the use of अचि here si explanatory. Why 'when the ending is not a substitute'? Observe त्वद् गच्छति, मद् गच्छति ॥

शेषे लोपः ॥ ९० ॥ पदानि ॥ शेषे, लोपः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शेषे विभक्तौ युष्मदस्मदोर्लोपो भवति ॥

90. In the remaining cases where (आ or य is not substituted) there is elision of the final of yushmad and asmad.

This elision finds scope in the Singular and Plural of the Ablative, Dative, Genitive, and the Nominative. Thus त्वम्, अहम्, यूयम्, वयम्, तुभ्यम्, मह्यम्, युष्मभ्यम्, अस्मभ्यम्, त्वत्, मत्, युष्मत्, अस्मत्, तव, मम, युष्माकम्, अस्माकम् ॥ The following śloka gives the cases which are included in the word शेष :—

पञ्चम्याश्च चतुर्थ्याश्च षष्ठीप्रथमयोरपि ।
यान्यद्विवचनान्यत्र तेषु लोपो विधीयते ॥

The word शेष is employed in the sûtra for the sake of clearness. For there will be elision *universally* before *all* case-affixes. This is the *general* rule. To this there is the exception that before non-substitute case-affixes there will be य (VII. 2. 89). To this latter, there is an exception that before non-substitute case-endings beginning with a consonant, आ comes. Thus without any confusion, the आ, the य, and the lopa find their respective scopes.

When there is elision, why is not टाप् added in the Feminine; in त्वं ब्राह्मणी ; अहं ब्राह्मणी ? The टाप् is not added on the maxim सन्निपात लक्षणो विधिरनिमित्तं तद्विघातस्य 'a rule which is occasioned by a certain combination, does not become the cause of the destruction of that combination.' Because the ending in अ of युष्मद् and अस्मद् was occasioned by vibhakti combination, if this latter occasion टाप्, then it will destroy its own fruit.

Or the words युष्मद् and अस्मद् may be taken to have no gender, and equally applicable to both masculine and feminine.

In order to avoid all this difficulty about टाप् some would elide the अद् (or टि portion) of युष्मद् and अस्मद् under this sûtra. They argue that by the next sûtra VII. 2. 91, the portions 'yushm' and 'asm', namely the portions upto म् of युष्मद् and अस्मद् are replaced by substitutes. The portion that *remains* (शेष) is अद्, and it is this अद् which is to be elided.

Why is this 'lopa' taught again, when by VII. 2. 102, all त्यदादि pronouns have अ substituted for their finals before case-endngs; and so would yushmad and asmad, lose their finals and become yushma and asma by that rule? That rule does not apply to yushmad and asmad, because by an ishṭi that rule is restricted to tyadâdi pronouns upto द्वि, thus excluding युष्मद्, अस्मद्, भवतु and किम् ॥

मपर्यन्तस्य ॥ ९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ म पर्य्यन्तस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मपर्यन्तस्येत्ययमधिकारो, यदित ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्यामो मपर्यन्तस्येत्येवं तद्वेदितव्यम् ॥

91. The substitutions taught hereafter upto VII.2. 98 take effect with regard to the portions of युष्मद् and अस्मद् upto म्, i. e. the substitutes replace युष्म् and अस्म् ॥

Thus VII. 2. 92 teaches that युव and आव are substituted for yushmad and asmad in the dual. The substitutes replace युष्म् and अस्म्. Thus युवाम्, आवाम् ॥ Why 'upto म'? Observe युवकाम्, आवकाम् ॥ The क (V. 3. 71), is not replaced. Similarly VII. 2. 97 teaches that त्व and म replace 'yushmad' and 'asmad' in the singular; by this sûtra 'yushm' and 'asm' are only replaced. Thus त्वया, मया, the अद् portion remains for which य is substituted by VII. 2. 89. Had the whole been replaced, then the अ of त्व and म would have been replaced by य (VII. 2. 89), and given us undesired forms like त्व्या and म्या ॥ Why is the word पर्यन्त employed in the sûtra and not the word अन्त, as मान्तस्य? In the first place the word अन्त is ambiguous, it may mean ending with म् but excluding म्, or ending with म् and including म् ॥ In the second place, the word पर्यन्त is used to indicate the limit, or portion taken out of the whole. The word मान्त would have meant, that form of yusmad and asmad which ends with म् ॥ Now these words have a form which ends in म्, as युष्मानाचष्टे or अस्मानाचष्टे = युष्मते or अस्मते formed by णिच् (the टि portion अद् is elided by VII. 4. 155, *vârtika*). Now a noun formed from this derivative root युष्मि and अस्मि by क्विप् affix will be युष्म् and अस्म् ॥ These are the two forms of yusmad and asmad which are complete words ending in म ॥ The present sûtra does not apply to these words.

In declining these nouns युष्म् and अस्म्, we shall apply the rules VII. 2. 89 and 86, thus :—

	Sing.	Dual.	Plural.		Sing.	Dual.	Plural.
Nom.	त्वं	युषां	युयं	Acc.	युषां	युषां	युषान्
Ins.	युष्या	युष्याभ्यां	युषाभिः	Dat.	तुभ्यं	युषाभ्यां	युषभ्यं
Abl.	युषत्	युषाभ्यां	युषत्	Gen.	तव	युष्योः	युषाकं
Loc.	युष्यि	युष्योः	युषासु ॥	(Padamanjari).			

युवावौ द्विवचने ॥ ९२ ॥ पदानि ॥ युव, आवौ, द्विवचने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्विवचनइत्यर्थग्रहणम् । द्विवचने ये युष्मदस्मदी अर्थाभिधानविषये तयोर्मपर्यन्तस्य स्थाने युव आव इत्येतावादेशौ भवतः ॥

92. In the Dual, युव is substituted for युष्म् and आव for अस्म् ॥

Thus युवाम्, आवाम्, युवाभ्याम्, आवाभ्याम्, युवयोः, आवयोः ॥ This substitution takes place even in compounds, where the sense of duality is prominent, if some other substitute like VII. 2. 94 &c. does not intervene. As अतिक्रान्तं युवाम् = अतियुवाम, so also अत्यावाम्; अतियुवान्, अत्यावान् (= अतिक्रान्तान् युवाम् &c.) अतियुवया and अत्यावया (= अतिक्रान्तेन् युवाम्) Similarly अतियुवाभिः, ॥ (अतिक्रान्तैर्युवां) अत्यावाभिः, अतियुवभ्यम्, (अतिकान्तेभ्योयुवां) अत्यावभ्यम्, अतियुवत्, (अतिकान्ताद् युवां) अत्यावत्, अतियुवाकम्, (अतिक्रान्तानां युवां) अत्यावाकम, अतियुवयि, (अतिकान्ते युवां) अत्यावयि, अतियुवासु, अतिकान्तेषु युवां अत्यावासु ॥ But where त्व &c are to be substituted, there those will be substituted, as अतित्वम् (= अतिक्रान्तो युवाम्), अत्यहम्, अतियूयम्, अतिवयम्, अतितुभ्यम्, अतिमह्यम्, अतितव, अतिमम ॥ This substitution does not take place when 'yushmad' and 'asmad' denote *one* or *many* (more than two), though the compound may denote a duality: as अतिक्रान्तौ त्वाम् = अतित्वाम्, अतिमाम्. अतियुष्मान्, अत्यस्मान् ॥

If in a compound, the words yushmad and asmad are employed in a dual signification, though the compound as a whole may have a singular or plural number, for the number of a compound does not depend upon the number of the words composing it, yet even in such a compound the युव and आव substitution should be made for the dual-significant yushmad and asmad: unless such substitution is debarred by some other substitutes like त्व and अह (VII. 2., 94 &c). Thus अतिक्रान्तं युवां = अतियुवाम्, similarly आति-आवाम ॥ The whole declension is given lelow :—

	Sing.	Pl.	Sing.	Pl.
Nom.	अतित्वम्	अतियूयम्	अत्यहम्	अतिवयम्
Acc.	अतियुवाम्	अतियुवाम्	अत्यावाम्	अत्यावान्
Ins.	अतियुवया	अतियुवभिः,	अत्यावया	अत्यावाभिः
Date.	अतितुभ्यं	अतियुवभ्यं	अतिमह्यम	अत्यावभ्यं
Abl.	अतियुवत्	अतियुवत्	अत्यावत्	अत्यावत्
Gen.	अतितव	अतियुवाकम	अतिमम	अत्यावाकम्
Loc.	अतियुवयि	अतियुवासु	अत्यावयि	अत्यावासु

But when the words yushmad and asmad denote singular or plural ,nbt the compound denotes a dual, then the yuva and âva substitutions do not take place. As अतिक्रान्तौ त्वाम् = अतित्वाम्, so also अतिक्रान्तौ युष्मान् = अतियुष्मान् so also अत्यस्मान् ॥ So on in other cases.

यूयवयौ जसि ॥ ९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ यूय, वयौ, जसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ युष्मदस्मदोर्मपर्यन्तस्य जसि परतो यूय वय इत्येतावादेशौ भवतः ॥

93. In the Nom. Pl. यूय is substituted for युष्म्, and वय for अस्म् ॥

As यूयम्, वयम्, परमयूयम्, परमवयम्, अतियूयम्, अतिवयम् ॥ The Tadanta-vidhi applies here. That rule applies in this angâdhikâra on the maxim अङ्गाधिकारे तस्य च तदुत्तरपदस्य च ॥ See also VII. 3. 10. In यूयम् and वयम्, the final द् is elided by VII. 2. 90, and we have यूय and वय + अ + अम् (VII. 1. 28) = यूयम् and वयम् (VI. 1. 97 and 107).

त्वाहौ सौ ॥ ९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ त्व, अहौ, सौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ युष्मदस्मदोर्मपर्यन्तस्य सौ परे त्व अह इत्येतावादेशौ भवतः ॥

94. In the Nominative Singular त्व is substituted for युष्म् and अह for अस्म् ॥

Thus त्वम् and अहम्, परमत्वम्, परमाहम्, अतित्वम् and अत्यहम् ॥ See VII. 1. 28, VI. 1. 97 and 107.

तुभ्यमह्यौ ङयि ॥ ९५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तुभ्य, मह्यौ, ङयि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ युष्मदस्मदोर्मपर्यन्तस्य तुभ्य मह्य इत्येतावादेशौ भवतो ङयि परतः ॥

95. In the Dative Singular तुभ्य is substituted for युष्म् and मह्य for अस्म् ॥

As तुभ्यम्, मह्यम्, परमतुभ्यम्, परममह्यम्, अतितुभ्यम्, अतिमह्यम् ॥

तवममौ ङसि ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ तव, ममौ, ङसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ युष्मदस्मदोर्मपर्यन्तस्य तव मम इत्येतावादेशौ भवतो ङसि परतः ॥

96. In the Genitive Singular तव is substituted for युष्म् and मम for अस्म् ॥

As तव, मम, परमतव, परमसम, अतितव, अतिमम ॥ The ङ् is elided by VII. 2. 90, and तव and मम+अ+अ (VII. 1. 27)=तव and मम by VI. 1. 97.

त्वमावेकवचने ॥ ९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ त्वमौ, एक वचने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एकवचनइत्यर्थनिर्देशः । एकवचने ये युष्मदस्मदी एकार्थाभिधानविषये तयोर्मपर्यन्तस्य स्थाने त्व म इत्येतावादेशौ भवतः ॥

97. In the remaining cases of the Singular, त्व is substituted for युष्म् and म for अस्म् ॥

As त्वाम्, माम्, त्वया, मया, त्वत्, मत्, त्वयि, मयि ॥ The compounds also take this substitution according to the sense: as अतिक्रान्तस्त्वाम्=अतित्वम्, अत्यहम्, अतिक्रान्तौ मम=अतिमाम्, अतित्वाम्, अतिक्रान्तान् त्वाम्=अतित्वान्, अतिमान्, अतिक्रान्ताभ्यां त्वां=अतित्वाभ्याम्, अतिमाभ्याम्, अतिक्रान्तैस्त्वाम्=अतित्वाभिः, अतिमाभिः ॥

When in a compound, the words yushmad and asmad denote one, though the compound may denote two or many, there even the त्व and म substitutions must take place. And as regards different substitutes, like त्व and आह before यु &c, those prior taught substitutes debar this latter by the rule of पूर्वविप्रतिषेधः ॥ Some examples have already been given above, others are अति यूयम्, अतितुभ्यम्, अतितव ॥ So also with asmad. Similarly अतित्वां पश्य, अतित्वान्, अतित्वाभ्याम्, अतित्वाभिः, अतित्वभ्यम्, अतित्वत्, अतित्वयोः, अतित्वाकम्, अतित्वाये, अतित्वयोः, अतित्वासु ॥

प्रत्ययोत्तरपदयोश्च ॥ ९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रत्यय, उत्तरपदयोः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एकवचनइत्यनुवर्त्तते । प्रत्यये उत्तरपदे च परत एकत्वे वर्त्तमानयोर्युष्मदस्मदोर्मपर्यन्तस्य त्व म इत्येतावादेशौ भवतः ॥

98. त्व is substituted for युष्म् and म for अस्म्, when they signify a single individual, even when an affix follows, or a word is in composition.

As त्वदीयः, मदीयः, with the affix छ (IV. 2. 114, I. 1. 74) त्वत्तरः (=अतिशयेन त्वं), मत्तरः, त्वयति (=त्वामिच्छति), मयति; त्वयते (=त्वमिवाचरते), मयते ॥ Similarly when a second member of the compound follows. As तव पुत्रः=त्वत्पुत्रः, मत्पुत्रः ॥ त्वं नाथोऽस्य=त्वन्नाथः, मन्नाथः ॥ When more than one individual is signified, the substitution does not take place, as युष्मदीयं (=युष्माकमिदं), अस्मदीयं; युष्मत्पुत्रः (=युष्माकं पुत्रः), अस्मत्पुत्रः ॥

The sûtra VII. 2. 97 referred to the vibhaktis or case-endings, as that word from VII. 2. 84 governs these sûtras, the present sûtra refers to other affixes, and to compounds. It might be objected, that even before other affixes and compounds these words had in them vibhaktis, though those vibhaktis were elided when these affixes were added or when the words became part of a compound;

and that having in them suppressed vibhaktis, the substitutions would take place in spite of this sûtra. This objection is not valid, for there the vibhaktis have been elided. But is not elision a Bahiranga and the substitute an antaranga process; and should not, therefore, the substitute come first and then the vibhakti elided? The substitution specially taught in this sûtra is, therefore, a jñâpaka and proves the existence of the following maxim :—अन्तरङ्गानपि विधिन् बहिरङ्गोलुग्बाधते 'a bahiranga substitution of लुक् supersedes even antaranga rules'. Thus गोमान् प्रियोऽस्य = गोमत्प्रियः, here the antaranga नुम् augment is superseded by the bahiranga लुक् ॥ This sûtra further indicates, that all other substitutes of 'yushmad' and 'asmad' which take place in the singular, such as तव, मम, तुभ्य, मह्य, त्व, अह, do not take effect, before general affixes or in compounds, but that त्व and म are the only substitutes there even. As तुभ्यं हितं = त्वद्धितं, मद्धितं ॥ तव पुत्रः = त्वत्पुत्रः, मत्पुत्रः ॥

त्रिचतुरोस्त्रियां तिसृचतसृ ॥ ९९ ॥ पदानि ॥ त्रि, चतुरोः, स्त्रियाम, तिसृ चतसृ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ त्रि चतुर् इत्येतयोः स्त्रियां वर्तमानयोस्तिसृ चतसृ इत्येतावादेशौ भवतो विभक्तौ परतः ।

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ तिसृभावे सञ्ज्ञायां कन्युपसंख्यानं कर्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ चतसर्याद्युदात्त निपातनं कर्तव्यम् ॥

99. तिसृ is substituted for त्रि. and चतसृ for चतुर् in the feminine, when a case-ending follows.

Thus तिस्रः, चतस्रः, तिसृभिः, चतसृभिः ॥ Why 'in the Feminine'? Observe त्रयः, चत्वारः, त्रीणि, चत्वारि ॥ The word स्त्रियाम् qualifies त्रि and चतुर् and not the word अङ्ग 'stem' which is of course understood here. Therefore, the substitution will take place even where the anga refers to a Masculine, or a Neuter; when त्रि and चतुर् refer to a Feminine; as प्रियास्तिस्रो ब्राह्मण्योऽस्य ब्राह्मणस्य = प्रियतिसा ब्राह्मणः (VII. 1.94) प्रियतिस्रौ, प्रियतिस्रः ॥ The guṇa of VII. 3. 110 is debarred in anticipation by VII. 2. 100 ordaining र ॥ प्रियतिसृ ब्राह्मणकुलं, प्रियतिसृणी, प्रियतिसृणि ॥ Similarly प्रियचतसा. °चतस्रौ, °चतस्रः, प्रियचतसृ, °चतसृणी, °चतसृणि ॥ The samâsânta affix कप् (V. 4. 153) is however not added in the above, because तिसृ &c are bahirangasubstitutions. Conversely, the anga may be feminine, but if त्रि and चतुर् refer to Masculine or Neuter nouns, the substitution will not take place: as प्रियास्त्रयोऽस्याः or प्रियाणि त्रीणि वा अस्या ब्राह्मण्याः = प्रियत्रिः 'a Brahmanî to whom three are beloved.' dual. प्रियत्री:, प्रियत्रयः ॥ Similarly प्रियचत्वाः, प्रियचत्वारौ, प्रियचत्वारः ॥

Vârt:—The substitution of तिसृ for त्रि takes place before the affix कन्; as तिसृका नाम ग्रामः ॥

Vârt:—चतसृ has acute on the first, as चतस्रः पश्य ॥ Rule VI. 1. 167 does not apply. But चतसृणाम् according to VI. 1. 179: the हलादि debars the निपातन accent.

अचि र ऋतः ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ अचि, र, ऋतः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तिसृ चतसृ इत्येतयोर्ऋतः स्थाने रेफादेशो भवति अजादौ विभक्तौ परतः ।

100. र is substituted for the ऋ of तिसृ and चतसृ before case-affixes beginning with a vowel.

Thus तिस्रः, (in तिस्रस्तिष्ठन्ति, तिस्रः पश्य) चतस्रस्तिष्ठन्ति, चतस्रः पश्य ॥ प्रियतिस्र आनय, प्रियचतस्र आनय; प्रियतिस्रः स्वम्, प्रियचतस्रः स्वम् ॥ प्रियतिस्रि निधेहि, प्रियचतस्रि निधेहि ॥ This supersedes VI. 1. 102 (ordaining the single long substitution of the form of the first), VI. 1. 111 (substitution of उर् for ऋ), and VII. 3. 110 (the substitution of guṇa). The last rule VII. 3. 110, though subsequent in order, is however superseded by this rule. Why 'before the affixes beginning with a vowel?' Observe तिसृभिः, चतसृभिः ॥ The ऋतः of the sûtra refers to the ऋ of तिसृ and चतसृ and not to a ऋ ending stem in general: and had it not been used in the sûtra, the latter would have stood thus अचि रः "र् is substituted for the final of the words above-mentioned before an affix beginning with a vowel." So र् would have been substituted for the final of त्रि and चतुर् also.

जराया जरसन्यतरस्याम् ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ जरायाः, जरस्, अन्यतरस्याम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जरा इत्येतस्य जरसित्ययमादेशो भवति अन्यतरस्यामजादौ विभक्तौ परतः ।

101. जरस् may be substituted for जरा, optionally before a case-affix beginning with a vowel.

As जरया or जरसा, in जरसा or जरयादन्ताः शीर्यन्ते ॥ जरायै or जरसे (जरसे or जरायै त्वा परिदद्युः) ॥ But only जराभ्याम्, जराभिः before an affix biginning with a consonant. The जरस् substitution takes place in the Neuter plural, when the augment नुम् is added: as अतिजरांसि ब्राह्मणकुलानि ॥ In अतिजरसं ब्राह्मणकुलं पश्य the affix is not elided. The form is thus evolved: अतिजर+अम् ॥ Here three rules present themselves simultaneously; first, luk-elision of the affix अम् by VII. 1, 23, (2) then the अम् substitution by VII. 1. 24, (3) and thirdly, जरस् for जर by this rule. Of these लुक्-elision is superseded by अम् of VII. 1. 24 which is an exception to VII. 1. 23; and in its turn अम् is replaced by the जरस् of this sûtra. जरस् being substituted for जर, we have अतिजरस्, now luk cannot again appear and cause elision, as it has already lost the opportunity: and we are left with अम् alone, and have अतिजरसं ॥ In the Nom. Sg. and Ins. Pl we have अतिजरं and अतिजरैः according to the opinion of Gonardîya. The reason being सन्निपातलक्षणो विधिरनिमित्तं तद्विघातस्य 'that which is taught in a rule the application of which is occasioned by the combination of two things, does not become the cause of the destruction of that combination'. Because अम् was added to अतिजर because it ended in अ (VII. 1. 24), and similarly भिः was replaced by ऐस् (VII. 1. 9). Now अ has *caused* the production of अम् and ऐस्, therefore, these latter affixes, though beginning with a vowel will not cause जरस् to be substituted for जर by this rule, for then the produced will cause the destruction of the producer. Others hold that the above maxim is anitya, and we have Nom. Sg. अतिजरसं, and Ins. Pl. अतिजरसैः ॥

The form अतिजरांसि is thus evolved अतिजर+इ ॥ Here if the नुम् augment be added first, it will be a portion of the aṅga, and will not be an intervention to anything which is to be added or operated upon the aṅga. But this

augment will be an intervention with regard to जरा which is but a portion of the word अतिजर ॥ So that an operation applicable to जरा will not take effect, because of this नुम intervention. And though tadantaviddhi applies in these chapters (पदाङ्गाधिकारे तस्य च तदन्तस्य च), yet the maxim is that the substitutes only replace those which are specifically exlibited in a rule (निर्दिश्यमानस्य आदेशा भवन्ति), therefore जरस् would not replace जरा which forms only a portion of a full word अतिजर ॥ Even if the substitution does take place, the नुम् would be found after the स् of जरस् ॥ Therefore, the जरस् substitution should be made first, because this is a subsequent rule; and having done so, the नुम् should be added afterwards under VII. 1. 72.

The form अतिजरसं is thus evolved. We have अतिजर + अम् ॥ Here on the maxim एकदेशविकृतस्य अनन्यत्वात्, we substitute जरस् for जर also, (for जर and जरा are considered as one). Then appears VII 1. 23 ordaining the luk of अम and VII. 1. 24, teaching अम् ॥ The latter rule is preferred for the reasons given above.

त्यदादीनामः ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ त्यदादीनाम्, अः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ त्यदित्येवमादीनामकारादेशो भवति विभक्तौ परतः ।

102. For the final of त्यद् and the rest, there is substituted अ, when an affix, called vibhakti, follows.

Thus त्यद्—स्यः, त्यौ, त्ये ॥ तद्—सः, तौ, ते; यद्—यः, यौ, ये; एतद्—एषः, एतौ, एते; इदम्—अयम्, इमौ, इमे; अदस्—असौ, अमू, अमी; द्वि, द्वौ, द्वाभ्याम् ॥ The tyadâdi words extend upto द्वि, in the list of the pronouns, for the purposes of this अ substitution. Therefore, the substitution does not take place here in भवत् which forms भवान् ॥ When the word त्यद् &c are employed as names, or as a secondary member in a compound, the substitution does not take place, as त्यद्, त्यदौ, त्यदः, अतित्यद्, अतित्यदौ, अतित्यदः See also I. 1. 27 commentary. But when they form the principal member of a compound, the substitution takes place, as परमसः, परमसौ, परमते ॥ For case affix (vibhakti) see V. 3. 1. also. Those affixes are also called vibhakti and cause these substitutions.

किमः कः ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ किमः, कः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ किम् इत्येतस्य क इत्ययमादेशो भवति विभक्तौ परतः ।

103. क is substituted for किम before a vibhakti affix.

As कः, कौ, के ॥ The substitution takes place even when the augment अकच् is added. Therefore, the substitute is here क and not अ which latter would have been sufficient for किम् ॥ For म् of किम् being replaced by अ (VII. 2. 102), the इ would be left, which would be replaced by अ, had the sûtra been किमोऽत् and the forms would have been the same (क् + अ + अ = क VI. 1. 97). See V. 3. 1, 13 &c.

कु तिहोः ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ कु, तिहोः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तकारादौ हकारादौ च विभक्तौ परतः किमित्येतस्य कु इत्ययमादेशो भवति ।

104. कु is substituted for किम् before a vibhakti affix beginning with a त or a ह ॥

Thus कुतः, कुत्र, कुह (V. 3. 13, 7). The इ in ति means beginning with a त ॥

क्वाति ॥ १०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ क, अति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अतीत्येतस्यां विभक्तौ परतः किमित्येतस्य कु इत्ययमादेशो भवति ।

105. क is substituted for किम् before the vibhakti अत् (V, 3. 13).

As क्व गमिष्यसि, क्व भोक्ष्यते ॥ The substitute कु of the last rule, before the affix अ would have become क्व, but that it would have caused guṇa, hence this separate substitute. Had the sûtra been किमोऽद्धत् it would not have included the अकच् augmented किम् ॥

तदोः सः सावनन्त्ययोः ॥ १०६ पदानि ॥ तदोः, सः, सौ, अनन्त्ययोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ त्यदादीनां तकारदकारयोरनन्त्ययोः सकारादेशो भवति सौ परतः ।

106. For the non-final त् and द् of त्यद् &c. there is substituted स् in the Nominative Singular.

As त्यद् + सु = त्य + अ + सु (VII. 2. 102) = स्य + अ + सु (VII. 2. 106) = स्यः (VI. 1. 97). Similarly सः from तद्, एषः from एतद् as एतद् + सु = एत + अ + सु (VII. 2. 102) = एस + अ + स् (VII. 2. 106) = एषः (VI. 1. 97). So असौ from अदस् by the following sûtra. Why do we say 'non-final'? Observe हे से, सा ॥ Had not this word been used, the case-affix would not be elided in the vocative, as then there would have been no short vowel, as required by VI. 1. 69.

अदस औ सुलोपश्च ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अदसः, औ, सुलोपश्च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अदसः सौ परतः सकारस्य औकारादेशो भवति सोश्च लोपो भवति ।

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ औत्वप्रतिषेधः साकच्काद्वा वक्तव्यः सादुत्वं च ॥

वा० ॥ उत्तरपदभूतानां त्यदादीनामकृतसन्धीनामादेशा वक्तव्याः ॥

Kârikâ अदसः सोर्भवेदौत्वं किं सुलोपो विधीयते ।
हस्वाल्लुप्येत संबुद्धिर्न हलः प्रकृतं हि तत् ॥
आप एत्वं भवेत्तस्मिन्न झलीत्यनुवर्तनात् ।
प्रत्ययस्थाच्च कादित्वं शीभावश्च प्रसज्यते ॥

107. For the स् of अदस् there is substituted औ, whereby the Nom. affix सु is elided.

As अदस् + सु = अद + औ + सु (VII. 2. 107) = अस + औ (VII. 2. 106) = असौ ॥

Vârt:—When the augment अकच् is added, the औ substitution is optional, and in that alternative उ is added after स्, as असुकः or असकौ ॥

Vârt:—When त्यद् &c. form second members of a compound, the above mentioned substitutions take place before the application of sandhi: as परमाहम्, परमायम्, परमानेन ॥

The form असुकः is thus evolved :— अदकस् + सु, now औ substitution of the present sûtra is prohibited; therefore, the अ substitution of VII. 2. 102 takes

place, and the ड् is changed to सु by VII. 2. 106, and the अ of अकच् after स् is changed to उ ॥

The following observations may be made with regard to the forms परमाहम् &c A substitute would be a bahiranga with regard to a case-affix that should be added to a compound. Therefore, being an antaranga rule, the ekadeśa should be made first, and this ekadeśa being considered as the beginning of the subsequent word, we should get erroneous forms like परमहम्. परमयं instead of परमाहम् and परमायम् &c. Hence the necessity of the above vârtika.

Kârikâ:—Let the sûtra be असस औ without the words सुलोपश्च ॥ The word सौ is understood here from the preceding aphorism. The word असस: is in the ablative case, the word सौ which is in the 7th case, should be changed here into the 6th case सोः ॥ The sûtra would then mean असस उत्तरस्य सोरौकारो भवति— औ is substituted for the सु after असस् ॥ Then the final अस् of असस् is changed to अ by VII. 2. 102, and ह् is changed to स् by VII. 2. 106, and we have असौ ॥ So where is the necessity of using the words सुलोपश्च in the sûtra.

Obj: If औ be substituted for सु, then in the vocative this औ should be elided by VI. 1. 69, as it comes after a short vowel अ of VII. 2. 102. Ans. औ will not be elided by VI. 1. 69, for that rule refers to the elision of a consonantal affix only, the word हल: being understood in that sûtra, from the preceding sûtra VI. 1. 68.

Obj: If this be so, then in the Feminine Vocative we have असा + औ, and by the rule VII. 3. 106, the आ should be changed to ए before this औ ॥ Ans. No, this will not be so, for the ए substitution takes place only before a हल् beginning affix, for the word हलि is understood in the sûtra VII. 3. 106 from the sûtra VII. 3. 103.

Obj: If this be so, then in the feminnine with अकच्, we have, असका + औ, and here rule VII. 3. 44 shows itself and requires the अ of स to be changed to इ (असिका) before the क of an affix. Ans. That rule VII. 3. 44 applies where the feminine affix आ is audible and remains unchanged, but here it is changed to औ (Vṛddhi आ + औ = औ) in असकौ ॥

Obj: But then in असा + औ, the औ would require to be changed to शी by VII. 1. 18. Ans. This objection is partial only, for औङ in VII. I. 18 is explained by some, to be the common name given by ancient grammarians to the औ of Dual; and not to this औ; moreover, in the masculine no objection can apply. Hence the words सुलोपश्च may well be omitted.

इदमो मः ॥ १०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ इदमः, मः ॥

वृत्तिः । इदमः सौ परतो मकारोऽन्तादेशो भवति ।

108. म is substituted for the final म of इदम् in the Nominative Singular.

As इयम्, अयम् ॥ The substitution of म् for म् is to prevent the अ substitution of VII. 2. 102. The case-ending is elided by VI. 1. 68, and य substituted by VII. 2. 110.

दश्च ॥ १०९ ॥ पदानि ॥ दः,च, ॥

वृत्तिः । इदमो दकारस्य स्थाने मकारादेशो भवति विभक्तौ परतः ।

109. And म is substituted for the द् of इदम् before a case-affix.

As इमौ, इमे, इमम्, इमौ, इमान् ॥ Thus इदम्+अम्=इदअ+अम् (VII. 2. 102)= इमअ+अम् (VII. 2. 109)=इमम् (VI. 1. 97, 107).

यः सौ ॥ ११० ॥ पदानि ॥ यः,सौ, ॥

वृत्तिः । इदमो मकारस्य यकारादेशो भवति सौ परतः ।

110. य् is substituted for the द् of इदम् in the Nom. Sg. in the feminine.

As इयम् ॥ This is confined to the Feminine, as the following sûtra relates to the masculine; and in the Neuter, the सु is लुक् elided by स्वमोर्नपुंसकात् and so leaves no trace behind.

इदोऽय् पुंसि ॥ १११ ॥ पदानि ॥ इदः,अय्,पुंसि ॥

वृत्तिः । इदम इद्रूपस्य पुंसि सौ परतोऽय् इत्ययमादेशो भवति ।

111. अय् is substituted for the इद् of इदम् in the Nom. Sg. masculine.

As अयम् ॥ In the Feminine इयम् ॥ As अयं ब्राह्मणः, and इयं ब्राह्मणी ॥

अनाप्यकः ॥ ११२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन, आपि, अकः, ॥

वृत्तिः । इदमोऽककारस्य इद्रूपस्य स्थाने अन इत्ययमादेशो भवति आपि विभक्तौ परतः ।

112. अन is substituted for the इद् of इदम् in the Instrumental singular and the cases that follow, provided that the augment akach is not added.

As अनेन, अनयोः ॥ Why do we say "not when क is added by V. 3. 71"? Observe इमकेन, इमकयोः ॥ The word आप् (आपि) in the sûtra is a pratyâhâra, formed with the आ of टा (Ins. Sg), and प् of सुप् (Loc. Pl).

हलि लोपः ॥ ११३ ॥ पदानि ॥ हलि, लोपः, ॥

वृत्तिः । हलादौ विभक्तौ परत इदमोऽककारस्य इद्रूपस्य लोपो भवति ।

113. The इद् of इदम् is elided before a case-affix beginning with a consonant.

As आभ्याम्, एभिः, (VII. 1. 11) एभ्यः एषाम्, एषु ॥ For म् is substituted अ by VII. 2. 102, and for अ+अ=अ by VI. 1. 97. The rule I. 1. 52 by which a substitute replaces only the final *letter*, does not apply here, on the maxim नानर्थकेऽलोऽन्त्यविधिः ॥ For no purpose is served by eliding merely the final म्

of इदम् ॥ Hence इद् is elided. Or it may be said that the sûtra does not teach the elision of इद्, but of मन् which was substituted for इद् by the preceding sûtra.

मृजेर्वृद्धिः ॥११४ ॥ पदानि ॥ मृजेः, वृद्धिः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विभक्ताविति निवृत्तम् मृजेरङ्गस्य इको वृद्धिर्भवति ॥

114. The Vṛiddhi (आर्) is substituted for the root vowel (ऋ) of the stem मृज् before an affix.

As मार्ष्टा, मार्ष्टुम्, मार्ष्टव्यम् ॥ The मृज् here is a root, and the affixes before which this Vṛiddhi takes place are those which come after *roots*, and not which come after Prâtipadikas. Therefore, not before the affixes भ्यां &c, as कंसपरिमृड्भ्याम्, मृड्भिः ॥ The anuvṛitti of the word vibhakti has ceased. This sûtra debars guṇa of VII. 3. 84.

अचो ञ्णिति ॥ ११५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अचः, ञ्, णिति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अजन्ताङ्गस्य ञिति णिति च वृद्धिर्भवति ॥

115. Before the affixes having an indicatory ञ् or ण्, Vṛiddhi is substituted for the end-vowel of a stem.

Thus एकस्तण्डुलनिचायः, (III. 3. 20) द्वौ शूर्पनिष्पावौ, कारः and हारः (with घञ्); गौः, गावौ, गावः, सखायौ, सखायः where the case-endings are णित् by VII. 1. 90, 92. जैत्रम्, यौत्रम् with the Uṇâdi ष्ट्रन् from जि and यु ॥ च्यौत्नः with अण् and means 'strength'. It is an obsolete Vedic word.

अत उपधायाः ॥ ११६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अतः, उपधायाः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अङ्गोपधाया अकारस्य स्थाने ञिति णिति च प्रत्यये वृद्धिर्भवति ॥

116. In a stem ending in a consonant with an अ immediately preceding it, the Vṛiddhi is substituted for such अ, when an affix having an indicatory ञ् or ण् follows.

As पाकः, त्यागः, यागः with घञ्, पाचि with the causative णि, पाचकः with ण्वुल् ॥ Why do we say 'अ'? Observe भेदयति, भेदकः with guṇa only from भिद् where इ is penultimate and not अ ॥ Why do we say 'penultimate'? Observe चकासयति, तक्षकः ॥

तद्धितेष्वचामादेः ॥ ११७ ॥ पदानि ॥ तद्धितेषु, अचाम्, आदेः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्धिते ञिति णिति च प्रत्यये परतोऽङ्गस्याचामादेरचःस्थाने वृद्धिर्भवति ॥

117. The Vṛiddhi is substituted for the first vowel of the stem, when a Taddhita-affix having an indicatory ञ् or ण् follows.

As गार्ग्यः from गर्ग + यञ्, so also वात्स्यः ॥ दाक्षिः (दक्ष + इञ्), प्लाक्षिः, औपगवः (with अण् from उपगु), कापटवः &c. This debars the Vṛiddhi of VII. 2. 115 and 116. as त्वाष्ट्रः from त्वष्टृ, and जागतः from जगत् ॥

किति च ॥ ११८ ॥ पदानि ॥ किति, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ किति च तद्धिते परतोऽचामादेरचः स्थाने वृद्धिर्भवति ॥

118. The Vṛiddhi is substituted for the first vowel of the stem, when a Taddhita affix with an indicatory क् follows.

As नाडायन् with फक्, so also चारायणः (IV. 1. 99), and माक्षिकः and शालाकिकः with ठक् (IV. 4. 1).

ओ३म् ।

अथ सप्तमाध्यायस्य तृतीयः पादः ।

BOOK SEVENTH.

CHAPTER THIRD.

देविकाशिंशपादित्यवाड्दीर्घसत्रश्रेयसामात् ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ देविका, शिंशपा, दित्यवाट्, दीर्घसत्र, श्रेयसाम्, आत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ देविका शिंशपा दित्यवाट् दीर्घसत्र श्रेयस् इत्येतेषामङ्गानामचामादेरचः स्थाने वृद्धिप्रसङ्गे आकारो भवति ञिति णिति किति तद्धिते परतः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ वहीनरस्येद्वचनम् ॥

1. When a Taddhita-affix having an indicatory ञ्, ण् or क् follows, आ is substituted instead of Vṛiddhi for the first vowels of the following: devikâ, śimśapâ, dityavâṭ, dîrghasatra, and śreyas.

Thus दाविकम् (=देविकायां भवम्) in दाविकमुदकम; दाविकाकूलाः शालयः (=देविकाकूले भवाः), पूर्वदाविकः from पूर्वदेविका 'the name of a village of the Eastern people'. Here the vṛiddhi of the second member ordained by VII. 3. 14, becomes आ ॥ Similarly शांशपश्चमसः (=शिंशपायाविकारः) ॥ The word belongs to the Palâśâdi class (IV. 3. 141), and takes अण् or अञ्, the difference being in accent. So also शांशपास्थलाः (=शिंशपास्थले भवाः), and पूर्वशांशप from पूर्वशिंशपः 'the name of a village' See VII. 3. 14. Similarly दात्यौहम् from दित्यवाह्, (दित्यौह इदं) and दार्घसत्रम् (दीर्घसत्रे भवं) and श्रायसम् (श्रेयसि भवं) ॥

Vârt:—The Vṛiddhi of वहीनर under similar circumstances is with an ऐ as if व was वि, as वहीनरस्यापत्यं=वैहीनरिः ॥ Some say the original word itself is विहीनर (विहीनोनरः), and so its taddhita derivative is regular.

केकयमित्त्रयुप्रलयानां यादेरियः ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ केकय, मित्त्रयु, प्रलयानाम्, य-आदेः, इयः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ केकय मित्त्रयु प्रलय इत्येतेषां यकारादेरिय इत्ययमादेशो भवति तद्धिते ञिति णिति किति च परतः ॥

2. When a Taddhita affix with an indicatory ञ्, ण् or क् follows, इय् is substituted for the य and यु of केकय, मित्रयु and प्रलय ॥

As कैकेयः (=केकयस्यापत्यं), with the affix अञ् (IV. 1. 168): similarly मैत्रेयिका formed with वुञ् (V. 1. 134) in the sentence मैत्रेयिकया श्लाघते ॥ The word Gotra in that sûtra V. 1. 134 means a Rishi name, for in ordinary parlance the name of a Rishi is called Gotra. Similarly प्रालेयम् (=प्रलयादागतं). As प्रालेयमुदकं ॥

न य्वाभ्यां पदान्ताभ्यां पूर्वौ तु ताभ्यामैच् ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, य्वाभ्याम्, पदान्ताभ्याम्, पूर्वौ, तु, ताभ्याम, ऐच् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यकारवकाराभ्यामुत्तरस्य अचामादेरचः स्थाने वृद्धिर्न भवति; ताभ्यां तु यकारवकाराभ्यां पूर्वमैचावागमौ भवतो ञिति णिति किति च तद्धिते परतः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अव्ययानां भमात्रे टिलोपः ॥

3. Before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory ञ्, ण् or क्, the Vṛiddhi is not substituted for the first vowel in a compound, when it follows a word ending in य् or व्, but ऐ and औ are respectively placed before the semi-vowels.

That is ऐ is placed before य्, and औ before व् ॥ As वैयसनम् from व्यसन; (व्यसने भवं) वैयाकरणः from व्याकरणं (व्याकरणमधीते) सौवश्वः from स्वश्वः (स्वश्वस्यापत्यं) ॥ Why after य् or व् only? Observe सार्थिः son of सर्थः ॥ Why do we say 'य् or व् *final* of a pada or *word*'? Observe याष्टीकः from यष्टिः, (यष्टिः प्रहरणमस्य) IV. 4. 59 वातः from यति (यतेश्छात्राः or यत इमे छात्राः) ॥ The rule does not apply to वाय्वश्वि and माध्वश्वि, for no rule ordains the Vṛiddhi of ध्व or य्व, and so no occasion for the prohibition of this rule arises. These are Patronyms formed by इञ् (IV. 1. 95) from वय्वश्व and मध्वश्व (वायि मियोऽश्वोयस्य &c). The present rule applies to that Vṛiddhi also which takes place in the second member of the compound by VII. 3. 10 &c. As पूर्वत्रैयालिन्दः from पूर्वत्र्यालिन्द (पूर्वत्र्यालिन्दे भवः) ॥ But this prohibition does not apply where the य् or व् are not the parts of the second member, as द्व्याश्वीतिकः (=द्वे अशीती भृतो, भृतो भावी वा) ॥

द्वारादीनां च ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वार, आदीनाम्, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वार इत्येवमादीनां य्वाभ्याम् उत्तरपदस्याचामादेरचः स्थाने वृद्धिर्न भवति पूर्वौ तु ताभ्यामैजागमौ भवतः ॥

4. Before a Taddhita-affix with an indicatory ञ्, ण् or क the Vṛiddhi is not substituted for the first vowel after य् or व्, but ऐ and औ are respectively placed before these semi-vowels in द्वार &c.

As द्वारे नियुक्तः=दौवारिकः, दौवारपालम् from द्वारपाल ॥ The TadÂdi rule applies here. सौवरः from स्वर, (स्वरमधिकृत्य कृतो मन्थः) ॥ So also सौवरोऽध्यायः, सौवर्यः सम्प्रश्नः ॥ वैयल्कशः from व्यल्कश, (व्यल्कशे भवः) सौवस्तिकः from स्वस्ति, (स्वस्तीति आह) सौवः from स्वर् (स्वर्भवः)॥

Vârt:—The last vowel, with the consonant, if any, which follows it, is elided in the Indeclinables: as सौवर्गमिकः (=स्वर्गमनमाह) ॥

Some read the word स्वाध्याय also in this list, but it is unnecessary, as it would be governed by the last rule, because it is a compound of सु+अध्याय (शोभनोऽध्याय), or it may be a compound of स्व+अध्याय, then also it is unnecessary, as स्व is separately mentioned, in this list, and therefore when स्व begins a word it would get this peculiar substitution then also. Similarly स्फैयकृत: from स्फ्यकृत ; सौवादुमृदुम् from स्वादुमृदु, शौवनम् from श्वन् the prakṛiti-bhâva is by (VI. 4. 167) while शौवम् from श्वन् where there is no prakṛitibhâva (by अम् IV. 3. 154): शौवादंष्ट्रः (श्वादंष्ट्रयां भवः). Similarly सौवम् from स्व (=स्वस्येदं) ; सौवग्रामिकः from स्वग्राम with the affix ठञ् (अध्यात्मादिभ्यश्च ठञ्). This sûtra is made because the य् and व् here are not finals of a पद or word, as they were in the preceding sûtra. The following is a list of Dvârâdi words.

1 द्वार, 2 स्वर, 3 स्वाध्याय, 4 व्यल्कश, 5 स्वस्ति, 6 स्वर् (स्वर), 7 स्फ्यकृत, 8 स्वादुमृदु, 9 श्वस्*, 10 श्वन्, 11 स्व ॥

न्यग्रोधस्य च केवलस्य ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ न्यग्रोधस्य, च, केवलस्य, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ न्यग्रोधशब्दस्य केवलस्य यकारादुत्तरस्याचामादेरचः स्थाने वृद्धिर्न भवति तस्माच्च पूर्वमैकार आगमो भवति ॥

5. ऐ is placed before the य् of न्यग्रोध, instead of Vṛiddhi, when the word stands alone, and is not a member of a compound, and is followed by a Taddhita affix with the indicatory ञ्, ण् or क् ॥

As नैयग्रोधश्चमसः (=न्यग्रोधस्य विकारः). Why do we say 'when it is alone'? Observe न्यग्रोधमूले भवाः शालयः=न्याग्रोधमूलाः ॥ If न्यग्रोध is a derivative word (from न्यग्रोहयति=नीचैर्गतौ परोहैर्धते), then it would have been governed by VII. 3. 3, this separate, sûtra is then for the sake of making a restrictive rule (niyama) with regard to this word. If it is a primary word, then this sûtra makes a Vidhi rule. The word केवल is a jñâpaka that the rule of Tadâdi applies in this section. See VII. 3. 8, also.

न कर्मव्यतिहारे ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, कर्मव्यतिहारे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मव्यतिहारे यदुक्तं तन्न भवति ॥

6. The prohibition and the augment, ordained by VII. 3. 3, do not apply to a word which expresses the reciprocity of an action.

As व्यावक्रोशी, व्यावलेखी, व्यावचर्ची, व्यावहासी ॥ See III. 3. 43 and V. 4. 14.

स्वागतादीनां च ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वागत, आदीनाम्, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वागत इत्येवमादीनां यदुक्तं तन्न भवति ॥

7. The prohibition and augment taught in VII. 3. 3 does not apply also to स्वागत &c.

As स्वागतिकः, (=स्वागतमिति आह) स्वाध्वरिकः, (=स्वध्वरेण चरति) स्वाङ्गिः, व्याङ्गिः, व्याडिः (sons of Svanga, Vyanga and Vyaḍa). व्यावहारिकः and स्वापतेयः (=स्वपतौ साधुः) ॥ The word व्यवहार does not mean reciprocity of action, for then it would have been governed by the last sûtra. स्वपत being a compound with स्व, would have been governed by VII. 3. 4 as it is included in the Dvârâdi list, hence its specific mention here. The following is the list of svâgatâdi words.

1 स्वागत, 2 स्वध्वर, 3 स्वङ्ग, 4 व्यङ्ग, 5 व्यड, 6 व्यवहार, 7 स्वपति ॥

श्वादेरिञि ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ श्व, आदेः, इञि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्वादेरङ्गस्य इञि परतो यदुक्तं तन्न भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ इकारादिग्रहणं कर्तव्यं पूर्वगणिकाद्यर्थम् ॥

8. A compound beginning with श्वन्, and followed by the Taddhita affix इञ्, is not governed by the prohibition, nor takes the augment, taught in VII. 3. 4.

Thus the descendant of श्वभस्त्र is श्वाभस्त्रिः, so also श्वादंष्ट्रिः ॥ The word श्वन् is included in the list of Dvârâdi words VII. 3, 4., the present sûtra implies that the rule VII. 3. 4 applies not only to those words, but to compounds beginning with those words.

Vârt:—This rule applies when any Taddhita affix beginning with इ follows; as श्वगणेन चरति=श्वागणिकः, श्वायूथिकः (IV. 4. 11).

The prohibition applies, when other Taddhita affixes follow such a word ending with इञ् (an affix beginning with इ): as from श्वाभस्त्रि we have श्वाभस्त्रम् (श्वाभस्त्रेरिदं) ॥

पदान्तस्यान्यतरस्याम् ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ पदान्तस्य, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्वादेरङ्गस्य पदशब्दान्तस्यान्यतरस्यां यदुक्तं तन्न भवति ॥

9. The rule VII. 3. 4. is optionally applied to श्वन् followed by पद ॥

As श्वापदस्येदं=श्वापदम् or शौवापदम् ॥

उत्तरपदस्य ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ उत्तर पदस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उत्तरपदस्येत्ययमधिकारः, हनस्तोऽचिण्णलोरिति प्रागेतस्मात् । यदित ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्याम उत्तरपदस्येत्येवं तद्वेदितव्यम् ॥

10. Upto VII. 3. 31 inclusive, the substitution of Vriddhi will take place, for the first vowel of the second member in a compound.

This is an adhikâra sûtra, and exerts governing influence upto VII. 3. 32 exclusive. The phrase "of the second member of the compound" should

be supplied in all those sûtras, to complete the sense. Thus in VII. 3. 11, the word उत्तरपदस्य should be supplied. As पूर्ववार्षिकं, अपरवार्षिकम्, पूर्वहैमनम्, अपरहैमनम् ॥

In those sûtras, where the word denoting the first member is not exhibited in the Ablative case, as in VII. 3. 18, 19, 20, 21, the present sûtra is absolutely necessary for causing the vṛiddhi of the second member. But in those sûtras, where the first member is exhibited in the ablative case, as in VII. 3. 11 (अवयवात्), there this sûtra is only explanatory (and not absolutely necessary), and serves also the purpose of placing such vṛiddhis under the category of 'uttarapada-vṛiddhi'. This peculiar vṛiddhi is liable to certain rules of accent, as in VI. 2. 105. Hence the importance of the present aphorism in those sûtras also, where the word is exhibited in the fifth case.

अवयवादृतोः ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ अवयवात्, ऋतोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अवयववाचिन उत्तरस्य ऋतुवाचिन उत्तरपदस्याचामादेरचो वृद्धिर्भवति तद्धिते ञिति णिति किति च परतः ॥

11. Before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory ञ्, ण् or क्, Vṛiddhi is substituted for the first vowel of a word denoting season, when it is preceded by a word denoting a part.

As पूर्ववार्षिकम्, पूर्वहैमनम्, अपरवार्षिकम्, अपरहैमनम् ॥ The composition with पूर्व and अपर &c takes place by II. 2. 1. and then by IV. 3. 18 there is ठक् after वर्ष, and अण् after हेमन्त with the elision of त by IV. 3. 22. The Tadanta-viddhi, as a general rule, does not apply to compounds, so that a rule made applicable to a particular word, will not apply to a compound which ends with that word: but tadanta-viddhi applies to a word denoting season when it takes an affix causing Vṛiddhi, and is preceded by a word denoting a portion. We draw this rule from the present sûtra, for हैमनं being formed from हेमन्त by a vṛiddhi-causing affix (IV. 3. 22), the affix अण will be applied to हेमन्त even when it is the second member of a compound, the first member of which denotes a part. (ऋतोर्वृद्धि मद्विधाववयवात् I. 1. 72 Vârt. Mahâbhâshya).

Why do we say 'denoting a portion'? Observe पूर्वासु वर्षासु भवं पौर्ववर्षिकम् with ठञ् (IV. 3. 11). The tadanta-vidhi applies only when the first member denotes a portion.

सुसर्वार्द्धाज्जनपदस्य ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सु, सर्व, अर्द्धात्, जनपदस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सु सर्व अर्द्ध इत्येतेभ्य उत्तरस्य जनपदवाचिन उत्तरपदस्याचामादेरचो वृद्धिर्भवति तद्धिते ञिति णिति किति च परतः ॥

12. After सु, सर्व and अर्ध, the first vowel of the name of a country gets the Vṛiddhi, when a Taddhita affix with an indicatory ञ्, ण् or क् follows.

As सुपाञ्चालकः, सर्वपाञ्चालकः and अर्धपाञ्चालकः, formed with वुञ् (IV.2.125). This sûtra also gives rise to the following rule सुसर्वार्धदिक्शब्देभ्यो जनपदस्य "The tadantavidhi applies to words denoting country, when the first member is सु, सर्व, अर्ध or a direction-denoting word". As shown in the above examples, and for direction denoting words see the following sûtra. (I. 1. 72 Vârt. Mahâbhâshya).

दिशोऽमद्राणाम् ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ दिशः, अ मद्राणाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिग्वाचिन उत्तरस्य जनपदवाचिनो मद्रवर्जितस्याचामादेरचोवृद्धिर्भवति तद्धिते ञिति णिति किति च परतः ॥

13. After a word denoting direction, the first vowel of the name of a country, with the exception of मद्र, gets Vṛiddhi before a Taddhita-affix having an indicatory ञ्, ण्, or क् ॥

As पूर्वपाञ्चालकः, अपरपाञ्चालकः, दक्षिणपाञ्चालकः, उत्तरपाञ्चालकः (IV. 2. 125, 107, 108. VI. 2. 105 accent). The Tadanta-vidhi applies here, as shown in the preceding sûtra. Why do we say 'denoting direction'? Observe पूर्वः पञ्चालानां = पूर्वपञ्चालः, तत्र भवः, = पौर्वपञ्चालकः, आपरपञ्चालकः ॥ With मद्र we have पौर्वमद्रः, आपरमद्रः with अञ् (IV. 2. 108). The separation of this sûtra from the last is for the sake of the subsequent sûtra.

प्राचां ग्रामनगराणाम् ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्राचाम्, ग्राम, नगराणाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्राचां देशे ग्रामनगराणां दिश उत्तरेषामचामादेरचो वृद्धिर्भवति तद्धिते ञिति णिति किति च परतः ॥

14. After a word denoting direction, the first vowel of the name of a village or city in the land of the eastern people, gets the Vṛiddhi before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory ञ्, ण् or क् ॥

Thus पूर्वैषुकामशामः, अपरैषुकामशामः, पूर्वकार्ष्णमृत्तिकः, अपरकार्ष्णमृत्तिकः (IV. 2. 107). These are village names. पूर्वपाटलिपुत्रकः, अपरपाटलिपुत्रकः पूर्वकान्यकुब्जः, अपरकान्यकुब्जः ॥

The word प्राचां in this sûtra, as well as in VII. 3. 24, does not here mean 'the eastern grammarians', but 'the eastern countries', because of the context. पूर्वैषुकामशमः is thus formed. पूर्वा च असौ इषुकामशमी = पूर्वेषुकामशमी ॥ The compounding takes place by II. 1. 50. Then the affix अ is added to it, in the sense of तत्र भवः by IV. 2. 107. In पूर्वपाटलिपुत्रकः the affix वुञ् is added by IV. 2. 123. Though Pâṭaliputra is the name of *one* city, Purva-pâṭaliputra means the Eastern portion of the city Pâṭaliputra.

That place is called 'grâma', where people reside, and a 'nagara' is also a 'grâma' in this sense. Therefore, the rules which good men observe with regard to 'grâma', are obsered by them in 'nagara' also. Thus the rule is अभक्ष्यो ग्रामकुक्कुटः, therefore, the नागर cock is also not eaten. So also ग्रामे नाध्ययम् is applied to nagara also. In this grammar also, we see that 'grâma' includes

'nagara' also, as in IV. 2. 109, 117, VI. 2. 103. Therefore, where is the necessity of employing the word नगर separately in this aphorism? The two words are separately used, in order to indicate the separate nature and relation of the two kinds of words. The *full* word पूर्वेषुकामशमी is the name of a 'grâma', and not the portion इषुकामशमी ॥ But in पूर्वपाटलिपुत्र, the word पाटलिपुत्र itself is the name of the 'nagara'. In the present sûtra, there is the adhikâra of अङ्गस्य and of उत्तरपदस्य ॥ We apply these separately to these two classes of words: namely ग्रामवाचिनाम् अङ्गानाम and नगरवाचिनाम् उत्तरपदानाम् ॥ This we could not have done without employing these words in the sûtra. Therefore, in the case of 'grâma' word, the vṛiddhi takes place in that *portion* of it which follows a direction denoting word (ग्रामवाचिनामङ्गानामवयवस्य दिक्शब्दादुत्तरस्य वृद्धिर्भवति). While a *nagara* word itself gets vṛiddhi when it is preceded by a direction denoting word (दिशः उत्तरेषां नगराणाम्) ॥ In पूर्वेषुकामशमः, the vṛiddhi of इषुकामशमी takes place first, and then the combination by sandhi. See on this point VII. 3. 22.

संख्यायाः संवत्सरसंख्यस्य च ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ संख्यायाः, संवत्सर, संख्यस्य, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संख्याया उत्तरपदस्य संवत्सरशब्दस्य संख्यायाश्चाचामादेरचः स्थाने वृद्धिर्भवति तद्धिते ञिति णिति किति च परतः ॥

15. After a Numeral, the first vowel of संवत्सर and of a Numeral, gets the Vṛiddhi, before a Taddhita having an indicatory ञ, ण्, or क् ॥

Thus द्विसांवत्सरिकः = द्वौ संवत्सरावधीष्टो भृतो भूतो or भावी (V. 1. 80), त्रिसांवत्सरिकः, द्विषाष्टिकः = द्वे षष्टी अधीष्टो भृतो भूतो भावी वा ॥ द्विसाप्ततिकः ॥ The words द्वि, षष्टि &c when applied to वर्ष (VII. 3. 16) and Numerals give rise to the affixes taught under kâlâdhikâra (V. 1. 78-97). The special mention of संवत्सर here, (though this is a परिमाण word and would have been included in the sûtra VII. 3. 17) implies that the word परिमाण in that sûtra does not mean the measure of *time*, but a measure of any other thing than time. Therefore, with other time-words than samvatsara, the Vṛiddhi takes place in the regular way: as द्वैसमिकः, त्रैसमिकः ॥ Similarly in sûtra IV. 1. 22, the word परिमाण does not mean the measure of time or numerals, as त्रिवर्षा, द्विवर्षा माणविका ॥ In short, the word परिमाण in these sûtras (and elsewhere III. 2. 23, II. 3. 46 &c.) means "mass or bulk", and not a measure in general.

वर्षस्याभविष्यति ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ वर्षस्य, अ-भविष्यति, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संख्याया उत्तरस्य वर्षशब्दस्याचामादेरचो वृद्धिर्भवति तद्धिते ञिति णिति किति च परतः, स चेत्तद्धितो भविष्यदर्थे न भवति ।

16. After a numeral, the first vowel of वर्ष gets the Vṛiddhi, before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory ञ्, ण् or क्, when the affix does not refer to a Future time.

As द्विवर्षं अधीष्टो भृतो भूतो वा=द्विवार्षिकः, त्रिवार्षिकः ॥ But when denoting future time, we have द्वैवर्षिकः, त्रैवर्षिकः "calculated to last two or three years" as in the sentence यस्य त्रैवर्षिकं धान्यं निहितं भृत्यवृत्तये अधिकं वापि विद्येत स सोमं पातुमर्हति ॥ (=त्रीणि वर्षाणि भावी). The word अभविष्यत् does not qualify the words अधीष्ट and भृत (V. I. 80), the sense of futurity is there denoted by the sentence and not by the taddhita-affix: as द्वे वर्षे अधीष्टो भृतो वा कर्म करिष्यति=द्विवार्षिको मनुष्यः ॥

परिमाणान्तस्यासंज्ञाशाणयोः ॥१७॥ पदानि ॥ परिमाणान्तस्य, असंज्ञा, शाणयोः॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिमाणान्तस्याङ्गस्य संख्यायाः परं यदुत्तरपदं तस्याचामादेरचो वृद्धिर्भवति तद्धिते ञिति णिति किति च परतः, संज्ञायां विषये शाणे चोत्तरपदे न भवति ॥

17. After a numeral, the first vowel of a word denoting mass in its widest sense (with the exception of शाण) gets the Vṛiddhi before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory ञ्, ण् or क्, when the word so formed does not mean a Name.

As द्वौ कुडवौ प्रयोजनमस्य=द्विकौडविकः (V. I. 109) द्वाभ्यां सुवर्णाभ्यां क्रीतं=द्विसौवर्णिकम् (V. I. 37), त्रिसौवर्णिकम् ॥ The taddhita affix is optionally elided, see vârtika to V. I. 29. When the affix is elided there can be no Vṛiddhi, as द्विसुवर्णम् ॥ Similarly द्विनैष्किकम, त्रिनैष्किकम् (V. I. 30). Why 'when it is not a name'? Observe पाञ्चलोहितिकम्, पाञ्चकपालिकम् (=पञ्चलोहित्यः or कपलानि परिमाणमस्य V. I. 30) The whole word is a Name here. Why with the exception of शाण? Observe द्वैशाणम्, त्रैशाणम् formed with अण् (V. I. 35 and 36). Some read the sûtra as असंज्ञाशाणकुलिजानाम् so that कुलिज is also excepted, as द्वैकुलिजिकः (V. I. 55 द्वेकुलिजे प्रयोजनमस्य) ॥

जे प्रोष्ठपदानाम् ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ जे, प्रोष्ठपदानाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जइति जातार्थो निर्दिश्यते । तत्र यस्तद्धितो विहितस्तस्मिन् ञिति णिति किति च परतः प्रोष्ठपदानामुत्तरस्याचामादेरचो वृद्धिर्भवति ॥

18. In प्रोष्ठपद and its synonyms, the first vowel of the second member gets the Vṛiddhi, before a Taddhita affix meaning 'born in that time', and having an indicatory ञ्, ण् or क् ॥

The word ज means 'born', the affixes denoting 'born under that asterism' are meant here. प्रोष्ठपद is the name of an asterism, the time appertaining there to is also called प्रोष्ठपद (the affix अण् of IV. 3. 3, is elided by IV. 2. 4). प्रोष्ठपदासु जातः=प्रोष्ठपादो माणवकः (with अण् IV. 3. 16). Why do we say 'born in that time'? Observe यदा प्रौष्ठपदोमेघः (=प्रोष्ठपदासु भवः) धरणीमभिवर्षति ॥ The plural number प्रोष्ठपदानां indicates that the synonyms of प्रोष्ठपद such as भद्रपाद are also to be included.

हृद्भगसिन्ध्वन्ते पूर्वपदस्य च ॥१९॥ पदानि ॥ हृद्, भग, सिन्धु, अन्त, पूर्वपदस्य च॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हृद् भग सिन्धु इत्येवमन्तेऽङ्गे पूर्वपदस्योत्तरपदस्याचामादेरचो वृद्धिर्भवति तद्धिते ञिति णिति किति च परतः ॥

19. The Vṛiddhi is substituted for the first vowels of both (the first and second) members in a compound ending with हृद्, भग, and सिन्धु, before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory ञ्, ण् or क् ॥

As सुहृदयस्येदं = सौहार्दम्, सौभाग्यम्, दौर्भाग्यम् सौभागिनेयः (= सुभगाया अपत्यं), दौर्भागिनेयः (IV. 1. 126). The words सुभगा and दुर्भगा occur in the Kalyâṇâdi class (IV. 1. 126), and the affix ढक् and इनङ् augment are added. सुभग also occurs in Udgâtṛi class (V. 1. 129). That word, however, does not get the Vṛiddhi in the second member, As महते सौभगाय ॥ This is a Vedic anomaly. Similarly from सक्तुसिन्धवः (= सक्तुप्रधानाः सिन्धवः) we have साक्तुसैन्धवः (= सक्तुसिन्धुषु भवः) so also पानसिन्धवः ॥ The word सिन्धु occurs in Kachchhâdi class, and सैन्धवः is formed by अण् ॥ The Tadanta-rule applies to words formed there-under.

The words सुहृद् and दुर्हृद् are anomalously formed by V. 4. 150. But the reading adopted by Kâśikâ is सुहृदयस्येदम् ; so the word hṛidaya is changed to hṛid by VI. 3. 50 or VI. 3. 51. The word sindhu means 'a country', 'a river' or 'an ocean'.

अनुशतिकादीनां च ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुशतिकादीनाम्, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुशतिक इत्येवमादीनां चाङ्गानां पूर्वपदस्य चोत्तरपदस्याचामादेरचः स्थाने वृद्धिर्भवति तद्धिते ञिति णिति किति वा परतः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ कल्याण्यादीनामिनङ्गितिनङ् ॥

20. Before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory ञ्, ण् or क्, the Vṛiddhi is substituted for the first vowel of both members of the compounds अनुशतिक &c.

Thus (1) आनुशातिकम् (= अनुशतिकस्येदम्) V.1.21 and IV.3.120; (2) आनुहौडिकः (= अनुहोडेन चरति IV.4.8). (3) आनुसांवरणम् (= अनुसंवरणे दीयते V. 1. 96). (4) आनुसांवत्सरिकः (IV. 3. 60 formed by ठञ् from अनुसम्वत्सरेण दीयते) (5) आंगारवैणवः (son of अङ्गारवेणु). (6) आसिहात्यम् (= असिहत्ये भवं). Some read this word as अस्यहत्य; this will also take अण् as belonging to विमुक्तादि class. As आस्यहात्यः (= अस्यहत्यशब्दोऽस्मिन्नध्यायेऽस्ति) Others read this as अस्येहतिः, as आस्यैहितिकः (= अस्यहेतिः प्रयोजनमस्य). The word अस्य in these is treated like a Prâtipadika, its case-affix is not elided. (7) वाध्यौगः (= वध्योगस्य अपत्यं). It belongs to Bidâdi class. (8) पुस्करसदोऽपत्यं = पौस्करसादिः ॥ This belongs to Bâhvâdi class. (9) आनुहारत from अनुहरत् ॥ The same as above. (10) कुरुकत: belongs to Gargâdi class. Its partonymic is कौरुकात्यः (11) कौरुपाञ्चालः (कुरुपञ्चालेषु भवः) ॥ The affix वुञ् is not added here, because जनपदसमुदायो जनपदग्रहणेन गृह्यते ॥

(12) औदुकशौद्धिः (son of उदकशुद्धिः) ॥ (13, 14) ऐहलौकिकः, पारलौकिकः, from इहलोकः and परलोकः by adding ठञ् in the sense of तत्र भवः (लोकोत्तरपदस्य च) ॥ (15) सार्वलौकिकः from सर्वलोकः by ठञ् under V. 1, 44. (16) सार्वपौरुषम् from सर्वपुरुषः in the

sense of मस्येदम् ॥ (17) सार्वभौम: (= सर्वभूमेर्निमित्तं संयोगो or उत्पातो वा V 1.41) ॥ (18) प्रयोग:—प्रायौगिक: (तत्र भव:, प्रयोगाधिदेवाधिभूतस्यश्यात्माश्य:) (19) परस्त्री—पारस्त्रैणेय: formed by इनय (IV. 1. 126).

(20) So also of राजपुरुष before the affix ष्यञ्, as राजपौरुष्यम् ॥ Why do we say before ष्यञ् only? Observe राजपुरुषस्यापत्यं = राजपुरुषायणि:; formed by फिञ् (IV. 1. 157).

(21) शातकुम्भे भव: = शातकौम्भ:, (21 a) सौखशायनिक: from सुखशयन (21 b) पार-दारिक: from परदार ॥ (22) सौत्रनाडि = सूत्रनडस्यापत्यं ॥

This is an Akṛitigaṇa class; therefore, we have forms like these, आभि-गामिक: (अभिगममर्हति), आधिदैविकम् (अधिदेवेभव:), आधिभौतिकं; चातुर्वैद्यम् (चतस्र एव विद्या) ॥ The affix ष्यञ् is added in svârtha.

1 अनुशतिक, 2 अनुहोड, 3 अनुसंवरण (अनुसंचरण), 4 अनुसंवत्सर, 5 अङ्गारवेणु, 6 असिहत्य (अस्यहत्य), 7 अस्यहेति, 8 वध्योग, 9 पुष्करसद्, 10 अनुहरत्, 11 कुरुकत्, 12 कुरुपञ्चाल, 13 उदकशुद्ध, 14 इहलोक, 15 परलोक, 16 सर्वलोक, 17 सर्वपुरुष, 18 सर्वभूमि, 19 प्रयोग, 20 परस्त्री, 21 राजपुरुषात् ष्यञि; 22 सूत्रनड ॥ आकृतिगण, 23 अभिगम, 24 अधिभूत, 25 अधिदेव 26 चतुर्विद्या, 27 सुखशयन 28 शातकुम्भ 29 परदार ॥

देवताद्वन्द्वे च ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ देवता-द्वन्द्वे, च ॥

वृत्ति: ॥ देवताद्वन्द्वे च पूर्वपदस्योत्तरपदस्य चाचामादेरच: स्थाने वृद्धिर्भवति तद्धिते ञिति णिति किति वा परत: ॥

21. Before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory ञ्, ण् or क्, the Vṛiddhi is substituted for the first vowels of both members a Dvanda compound of the names of Devas.

As आग्निमारुती in आग्निमारुतीमनड्वाहीमालभेत् ॥ आग्निमारुतं कर्म ॥ The rule applies to Dvandas relating to hymns (सूक्त) and sacrificial offerings (हवि). Therefore, not here, स्कान्दविशाखौ देवतेऽस्य = स्कान्दविशाख: (IV. 2. 24). So also ब्राह्मप्राजापत्यम् by ण्य from ब्रह्मप्रजापती ॥ See VI. 3. 26.

The short इ in the आग्नि in आग्निमारुत, आग्निवारुणम् is by VI. 3. 28. A compound relates to a sûkta, which worships a deva through hymns; and that by which a 'havis' is determined, is a compound relating to sacrificial offering.

नेन्द्रस्य परस्य ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, इन्द्रस्य, परस्य ॥

वृत्ति: ॥ इन्द्रशब्दस्य परस्य यदुक्तं तन्न भवति ॥

22. But the Vṛiddhi of the first vowel of Indra, when it stands as the second member of a Dvanda compound, does not take place before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory ञ्, ण् or क् ॥

As सौमेन्द्र:, आग्नेन्द्र: ॥ Why "when it stands as the subsequent member"? Observe ऐन्द्राग्न मेकादशकपालं चरुं निर्वपेत् ॥ There are two vowels in the word इन्द्र, and when a Taddhita affix is added, then one of these i. e. the अ or the last vowel is elided by VI. 4. 148, and the other (i. e. the इ, coalesces with the last

vowel of the first term, as सोम + इन्द्र + अण् = सोम + इन्द्र् + अ = सोमे + न्द्र् + अ ॥ Now, *no* vowel is left of इन्द्र when it gets the form न्द्र्, so what is the necessity of the present prohibitory rule? This prohibition indicates the existence of the following maxim : बहिरङ्गमपि पूर्वोत्तरपदयोः पूर्वं कार्यं भवति, पश्चादेकादेशः or in other words पूर्वोत्तरनिमित्तकार्यात् पूर्वमन्तरङ्गोऽप्येकादेशो न ॥ "The substitution of one vowel for the final of the first and the initial of the second member of a compound does, even when it is antaranga, not take place previously to an operation which concerns the first or the second member of the compound". It is on this maxim that the forms पूर्वेषुकामशम (VII. 3. 14) &c are constructed, otherwise उ being the first vowel of the second member (इ of इषु having merged in पूर्व), would have been vṛiddhied.

दीर्घाच्च वरुणस्य ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ दीर्घात्, च वरुणस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दीर्घादुत्तरस्य वरुणस्य यदुक्तं तन्न भवति ॥

23. Before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory ञ, ण or क, in a Dvandva compound of god-names, the vṛiddhi is not substituted for the first vowel of वरुण, when a long vowel precedes it.

As ऐन्द्रावरुणम्, मैत्रावरुणम् from इन्द्रावरुणौ &c. (VI. 3. 26). But आग्निवारुणीम् in आग्निवारुणीमनड्वाहीमालभेत् when a short vowel precedes it. This word is derived from the compound word अग्नीवरुणौ the इ of अग्नि being lengthened by VI. 3. 27. But in forming a Taddhita-derivative from this word, the long ई is shortened by VI. 3. 28, and therefore, it cannot be said that a long vowel precedes वरुण ॥

प्राचां नगरान्ते ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्राचाम्, नगरान्ते ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्राचां देशे नगरान्तेऽङ्गे पूर्वपदस्योत्तरपदस्य चाचामादेरचो वृद्धिर्भवति तद्धिते ञिति णिति किति च परतः ॥

24. Before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory ञ्, ण् or क्, the Vṛiddhi is substituted for the first vowels of both members of the compound, which is the name of a city of the Eastern People, and which ends in the word नगर ॥

As साह्मनागरः (= सुह्मनगरे भवः), पौण्ड्रनागरः ॥ Why do we say 'of the Eastern people'? Observe माद्रनगरः, from मद्रनगरः the city of the Northern people.

जङ्गलधेनुवलजान्तस्य विभाषितमुत्तरम् ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ जङ्गल, धेनु, वलज, अन्तस्य, विभाषितम्, उत्तरम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जङ्गल धेनु वलज इत्येवमन्तस्याङ्गस्य पूर्वपदस्याचामादेरचो वृद्धिर्भवति विभाषितमुत्तरं उत्तरपदस्य विभाषितं तद्धिते ञिति णिति किति वा परतः ।

25. Before a Tahhita affix having an indicatory ञ्, ण्, or क्, the Vṛiddhi is substituted for the first vowel of-

the compound ending in जङ्गल, धेनु and बलज, and optionally for the first vowel of these second members also.

As कौरुजङ्गलम् or कौरुजाङ्गलम्, वैश्वधेनवम् or वैश्वधैनवम्, सौवर्णबलजः or सौवर्णबालजः॥

अर्द्धात्परिमाणस्य पूर्वस्य तु वा ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अर्द्धात्, परिमाणस्य, पूर्वस्य, तु, वा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अर्द्धशब्दात्परस्य परिमाणवाचिन उत्तरस्याचामादेरचः स्थाने वृद्धिर्भवति पूर्वस्य तु वा भवति तद्धिते ञिति णिति किति वा परतः ।

26. Before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory ञ्, ण्, or क्, the Vṛiddhi is substituted for the first vowel of the second member, denoting a mass in its widest sense, when the word अर्ध precedes it, but optionally for the first vowel of अर्ध ॥

As अर्धद्रौणिकम् or आर्धद्रौणिकम्, अर्धकौडविकम् or आर्धकौडविकम् with ठञ् (V. 1. 18). Why do we say when denoting a mass? Observe आर्धक्रोशिकम् only (=अर्धक्रोशः प्रयोजनमस्य) ॥

नातः परस्य ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, अतः, परस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अर्द्धात्परस्य परिमाणाकारस्य वृद्धिर्न भवति, पूर्वस्य तु वा भवति, तद्धिते ञिति णिति किति वा परतः ॥

27. When the first vowel of the second member, preceded by अर्ध and denoting mass is short अ, the Vṛiddhi is not substituted for this अ, before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory ञ्, ण् or क्; and optionally so for the first vowel of the first member (i. e. अर्ध) ॥

Thus अर्धप्रस्थिकः or आर्धप्रस्थिकः (V. I. 18) ॥ अर्धकंसिकः or आर्धकंसिकः ॥ Why do we say 'when it is a short अ'? Observe आर्धकौडविकः ॥ Why 'short अ'? Observe अर्ध खार्याम् भवः = आर्धखारी ॥ Here Vṛiddhi is substituted for the आ of खारी, and though the form remains the same, the power of this word is changed. For अर्धखारी being formed by a Taddhita affix causing Vṛiddhi, in forming a Bahuvṛihi compound, this word will retain its feminine form and will not be changed into masculine under VI. 3. 39. as अर्धखारीभार्यः (= अर्धखारीभार्यायस्य)(वृद्धिनिमित्तस्य च तद्धितस्य &c.) Wherever Vṛiddhi is prohibited with regard to a Taddhita affix, that affix cannot be called वृद्धिनिमित्त, and a word formed with such an affix will become masculine in a Bahuvṛihi compound referring to a male person, वैयाकरणी भार्या अस्य = वैयाकरणभार्यः ॥ The word वैयाकरण is formed by *prohibition* of Vṛiddhi. See VII. 3. 3.

प्रवाहणस्य ढे ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रवाहणस्य, ढे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रवाहणस्य ढे परत उत्तरपदस्याचामादेरचो वृद्धिर्भवति पूर्वपदस्य वा भवति ॥

28. Before the affix ढ (एय), the Vṛiddhi is substituted for the first vowel of the second member of प्रवाहण, but optionally so for the first vowel of the first member (i. e. प्र) ॥

Thus प्रवाहणस्यापत्यं = प्रावाहणेयः or प्रवाहणेयः ॥ The affix ढक् IV. 1. 123, is added, similarly प्रवाहणेयी भार्याऽस्य = प्रवाहणेयीभार्यः (VI. 3. 39, masculation prohibited). Or we may translate the sûtra as "Before the affix ढ, the vowel of प्र in प्रवाहण optionally gets Vṛiddhi", and omit the rest. The masculation will still be prohibited by VI. 3. 41, (जाते) ॥

तत्प्रत्ययस्य च ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्प्रत्ययस्य, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रवाहणस्येति वर्तते, तदिति ढप्रत्ययस्य प्रत्यवमर्षः, ढक् प्रत्ययान्तस्य प्रवाहणशब्दस्य तद्धितेषु परत उत्तरपदस्याचामादेरचो वृद्धिर्भवति पूर्वस्य तु वा ॥

29. Even so in a new derivative from this stem ending in ढ, formed with a Taddhita affix having an indicatory ञ्, ण् or क्, there is vṛiddhi substitution for the first vowel of the second member, and optionally for the first vowel of the first member, in प्रवाहणेय and प्रावाहणेय ॥

As प्रवाहणेयस्यापत्यं = प्रावाहणेयिः or प्रवाहणेयिः, प्रा or प्र-वाहणेयकम् ॥

नञः शुचीश्वरक्षेत्रज्ञकुशलनिपुणानाम् ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ नञः, शुचि, ईश्वर, क्षेत्रज्ञ, कुशल, निपुणानाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नञ उत्तरेषां शुचि ईश्वर क्षेत्रज्ञ कुशल निपुण इत्येतेषामचामादेरचो वृद्धिर्भवति, पूर्वपदस्य वा भवति तद्धिते ञिति णिति किति वा परतः ॥

30. Before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory ञ्, ण् or क्, the Vṛiddhi is always substituted for the first vowel of शुचि, ईश्वर, क्षेत्रज्ञ, कुशल and निपुण when preceded by the Negative particle, but this substitution is optional for the vowel of the Negative particle.

As अशौचम् or आशौचम्, अनैश्वर्यम् or आनैश्वर्यम्, अक्षैत्रज्ञ्यम् or आक्षैत्रज्ञ्यम्, अकौशलम् or आकौशलम्, अनैपुणम् or आनैपुणम् ॥ Some say the optional vṛiddhi of the negative particle is an aprâpta-vibhâsha, no other rule would have caused its vṛiddhi had this rule not existed. They argue that by V. 1. 121, all affixes denoting भाव are prohibited after a Tatpurusha compound with the negative particle; therefore, the words शुचि &c, should be first developed by the addition of भाव-affixes, and then they should be compounded with the negative particle, which may be optionally vṛiddhied by this rule, which would apply to it, though it is not an aṅga, because the rule teaches vṛiddhi. Others controvert this opinion, and hold that other affixes causing vṛiddhi than भाव-affixes, also come after negative-Tatpurusha compounds, such as affixes denoting des-

cendant &c: and भाव-affixes are added to Bahuvṛihi negative compounds also, therefore, the force of the anuvṛitti of अङ्ग, which is understood up to the end of the Seventh Adhyâya (VI. 1. 1), and *a fortiori* in this sûtra also, should not be set aside as the above interpretation would do. Moreover the full Taddhita compounds अक्षेत्रज्ञ and अनीश्वर are read in the list of Brâhmaṇâdi words (V. 1. 124), and as such they take the भाव affix ष्यञ् which would have *always* caused the vṛiddhi of अ, but for this sûtra which makes it optional. Therefore it is a prâpta-vibhâshâ.

यथातथयथापुरयोः पर्यायेण ॥३१॥ पदानि ॥ यथातथ, यथापुरयोः, पर्य्यायेण ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अयथातथ अयथापुर इत्येतयोर्नञ उत्तरयोः पर्यायेणाचामादेरचो वृद्धिर्भवति तद्धिते ञिति णिति किति वा परतः ॥

31. Before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory ञ्, ण् or क्, the words अयथातथ and अयथापुर may have vṛiddhi of the first vowel of their first member, or that of the second member, in alternation.

That is, when the Negative particle gets the vṛiddhi, the words remain unchanged; and when these words are vṛiddhied, the negative particle remains unaltered. As आयथातथ्यम् or अयाथातथ्यम्, आयथापुर्यम् or अयाथापुर्यम् ॥ The words अयथातथ and अयथापुर should be considered to belong, as negative compounds, to Brâhmaṇâdi class (V. 1. 124): and take ष्यञ् ॥ In the sûtra the compounds यथातथ and यथापुर are exhibited and are Avyayîbhâvas (II. 1. 7), and being neuters, the आ of तथा and पुरा are shortened. According to Patanjali this sûtra is superfluous When the negative particle takes Vṛiddhi, the compound should be analysed as, न यथातथा = अयथातथा, अयथातथा भावः = आयथा-तथ्यम् ॥ When the second member gets the vṛiddhi, the compound should be analysed as, यथातथा भावः = याथातथ्यं, न याथातथ्यम् = अयाथातथ्यम् ॥

हनस्तोऽचिण्णलोः ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ हनः, तः, अ, चिण् णलोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्धितेष्विति निवृत्तम् । तत्संबद्धं कितीत्यपि । ञ्णितीति वर्त्तते । हनस्तकारादेशो भवति ञ्णिति प्रत्यये परतः चिण्णलौ वर्जयित्वा ॥

32. त् is substituted for the न् of the root हन् before an affix with an indicatory ञ् or ण्, which causes also the vṛiddhi of the penultimate अ, but the augment is not added before the Aorist-sign चिण्, nor before the Personal ending णल् of the Perfect.

The anuvṛitti of 'Taddhita' ceases, and with it that of कित् also which causes Vṛiddhi in Taddhita only. The ञित् and णित् do govern still. Thus घातः (with घञ्), घातयति (with णिच्), घातकः (with ण्वुल्), साधुघातिन् with इन्; घातंघातम् with णमुल् ॥ But अघानि and जघान with चिण् and णल् ॥ This sûtra has

reference to roots, and refers to those affixes only which come after roots (धातु-प्रत्यय), therefore not here वार्त्रघ्न: from वृत्रहन् ॥

आतो युक्चिण्कृतोः ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ आतः, युक्, चिण्, कृतोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आकारान्तस्याङ्गस्य चिणि कृति ञ्णिति युगागमो भवति ।

33. A root-stem ending in आ receives the augment युक् (य्), before the Aorist sign चिण्, and before a krit-affix with an indicatory ञ् or ण्, which causes also the Vriddhi of the root-vowel.

As अदायि, अधायि with चिण्, दायः and दायकः, धायः, धायकः with ण and ण्वुल ॥ Why चिण् and krit only? Observe ददौ, दधौ in the Perfect, and चौडिः, बालाकिः with इञ् a Taddhita affix (IV. 1. 96). So also ज्ञा देवता अस्य = ज्ञः ॥

नोदात्तोपदेशस्य मान्तस्यानाचमेः ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, उदात्तोपदेशस्य, मान्तस्य, अनाचमे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उदात्तोपदेशस्य मान्तस्याङ्गस्याचमिवर्जितस्य चिणि कृति च ञ्णिति यदुक्तं तन्न भवति ॥

वा० ॥ अनाचमिकमिवमीनामिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

34. The Vriddhi is not substituted before the Aorist चिण् or a krit-affix with indicatory ञ् or ण् for the vowel of that root which ends in म and is acutely accented in its original enunciation (Dhâtupâtha), but not so in चम् after आ ॥

The vriddhi of the penultimate अ takes place before ञित् and णित् affixes (VII. 2. 116), that vriddhi does not take place in the case of udâtta roots ending in म ॥ Thus अशमि, अतमि, and अदमि in चिण् ॥ Compare VI. 4. 92, 93. Similarly with कृत् affixes, as शमकः, तमकः, दमकः, शमः, तमः दमः ॥ Why do we say 'acutely accented'? Observe, यामकः, रामकः ॥ How do you explain उद्यम and उपरम? These are irregular forms exhibited by Pânini himself in the Dhâtupâtha अडउद्यमे (Bhu. 380), यम उपरमे (Bhu. 1033) Why do we use "in the original enunciation or upadeśa"? So that the rule may apply to शमी दमी, तमी, but not to यामकः, रामकः ॥ Here to the root शम्, तम् and दम् is added the affix घिनुण् (III. 2. 141). The words शमिन् &c. get the affix-accent, namely acute इ; and thus the root-vowel becomes anudâtta. Though the root *now* becomes anudâtta, yet because in its upadeśa it was udâtta, the present sûtra will apply and prevent vriddhi. The roots यम्, रम् are anudâtta in upadeśa, but in यामकः, रामकः they become udâtta by लित् accent. This accent is a secondary accent and not the 'original' accent; and hence the present rule does not apply and there is vriddhi. Why do we say ending in म? Observe चारकः पाठकः ॥ Why with the exception of आचम्? Observe आचामकः ॥

Vârt:—Prohibition must be stated in the case of the roots आ-चम, कम and वम्, as वामः, कामः and आचामः ॥ In the case of कम्, the affix घञ् is added

in that alternative, when the root does not take the affix णिङ् (III. 1. 31). It thus gets vṛiddhi.

The word भाम: is formed from the Churâdi भम्, which with the affix णिच् gets Vṛiddhi, because णिच् is not a kṛit-affix, and is not therefore governed by this rule. If you say "let there be vṛiddhi of णिच्, but this vṛiddhi will be shortened by VI. 4. 92 because it is a मित् root", we reply "this root is not मित्" ॥ The मित् roots are those enumerated in Bhuâdi class, subdivision घटादिः (800). No doubt, there it is said that the roots ending in अम् are मित् (in अमन्ताश्च). But a root is regarded मित् only with regard to the Causative णिच् affix, and not with regard to that णिच् of the Churâdi class where the sense of the causative is not involved in it. Therefore this root is not मित् (VI. 4. 93).

The phrases सूर्यविभामा भूमिः and others like it are incorrect. Why do we say 'च्विण् and kṛit only'? Observe शशाम, ववाम, चचाम ॥

जनिवध्योश्च ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ जनि, वध्योः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जनि वधि इत्येतयोश्चिणि कृति च ञ्णिति यदुक्तं तन्न भवति ।

35. The Vṛiddhi is not substituted for the vowels of जन् and वध् before the Aorist-sign च्विण् and the kṛit-affixes with an indicatory ञ् and ण् ॥

As अजनि and अवधि with च्विण्, and जनकः and वधकः (with ण्वुल्), प्रजनः, वधः ॥ This rule refers to the separate and the distinct root वध and not to the substitute of हन् ॥ This we see in the line भक्षकश्चेन्न विद्येत वधकोऽपि न विद्यते ॥ The form from हन् will be घातकः ॥ Moreover the substitute वध ends with अ i. e. it is of two syllables 'badha', and as such it also does not admit Vṛiddhi. (See II. 4 42). The prohibition refers to च्विण् and kṛit-affixes, therefore not here, as जजान गर्भं महिमानमिन्द्रम् ॥

अर्त्तिह्रीव्लीरीक्नूयीक्ष्माय्यातां पुङ्णौ ॥ ३६ ॥ अर्त्ति, ह्री, व्ली, री, क्नूयी, क्ष्मायी, आताम्, पुक्, णौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वं निवृत्तमङ्गस्येति वर्तते । अर्त्ति ह्री व्ली री क्नूयी क्ष्मायी इत्येतेषामङ्गानामाकारान्तानां च पुगागमो भवति णौ परतः ।

36. The augment पुक् (प्) is added to the roots ऋ, ह्री, व्ली, री, क्नुय्, क्ष्माय्, and to a root ending in long आ, when the affix णि (the Causative) follows.

As अर्पयति, ह्रेपयति, व्लेपयति, रेपयति, क्नोपयति, क्ष्मापयति ॥ The anuvṛitti of every word other than अङ्ग (VI. 4. 1.) ceases. The य् of क्नूय् and क्ष्माय् drops by VI. 1. 66. The guṇa takes place by VII. 3. 86. Of the roots ending in long आ, we have दापयति, धापयति ॥ The root ऋ (Bhu. 983) गतिप्रापणयोः, and ऋ (JuhotyAdi 16) गतौ are both meant here. Similarly री includes रीङ् स्रवणे (Di-Adi 30), and रीं गतिरेषणयोः (KryAdi 30). The augment is added at the end of

the preceding stem of root, and not to the affix. Being added to the root it becomes part of the root-stem, and in forming the reduplicate Aorist of such stems, the vowel before ष् is shortened by VII. 4. 1. If ष् were not the part of the stem, that vowel would not be shortened. Thus from शापयति ; we have Aorist अशीशपत् ॥

शाच्छासाह्वाव्यावेपां युक् ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ शा, छा, सा, ह्वा, व्या, वे पाम्, युक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शा छा सा ह्वा व्या वे पा इत्येतेषामङ्गानां युगागमो भवति णौ परतः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ लुगागमस्तु तस्य वक्तव्यः ॥ वा० ॥ धुञ् प्रीञोर्नुग्वक्तव्यः ॥

37. The augment युक् (य्) is added to the verbal stems शा, छा, सा, ह्वा, वे and पा before the affix णि (Causative).

As निशाययति, अवच्छाययति, अवसाययति, ह्वाययति, संव्याययति, वाययति, and पाययति॥ The word पा includes the root पा 'to drink'. (Bhu 972) वे 'to dry' (Bhu 968). but not पा 'to protect' (Ad. 47): because the latter looses the शप् vikaraṇa.

Vârt :—The root पा 'to protect' takes the augment लुक् before णि, as पालयति ॥

Vârt:—The roots धुञ् and प्रीञ् take the augment नुक् before णि, as धूनयति, प्रीणयति ॥

All these augments are added to the roots, in order that VII. 4. 1. should cause the shortening of the vowel preceding these. Thus the Aorist of the above are: अशीशयत्, अपीपलत्, अदूधुनत्, अपीप्रिणत् ॥

The roots शा, छा, सा, ह्वा, व्या and पा are exhibited as ending in long आ their Dhâtupâṭha forms are शा, शो, छो, सै, सो, ह्वे, व्ये and पे ॥ This indicates that these roots would have taken पुक् by the last sûtra, the word आत् 'ending in long आ' means the roots which actually end in long आ, as well as those which get long आ by VI. 1. 45. This also indicates, that in this subdivision or section, the maxim of lakshaṇa protipadokta &c does not apply. Therefore when the roots इ with अधि, and इ with अधि assume the form अधि-आ and जा before the affix णि by VI. 1. 48, the augment पुक् is added to them, thus अध्यापयति, जापयति ॥

वो विधूनने जुक् ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वः, विधूनने, जुक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वा इत्येतस्य विधूननेर्थे वर्तमानस्य जुगागमो भवति णौ परतः ।

38. वा gets the augment जुक् (ज्) before the affix णि when the Causative has the sense of 'shaking'.

As पक्षेणोपवाजयति ॥ But आ वापयति केशान् when the sense is not that of shaking. This form could have been obtained from the root वज 'to move', (Bhu 271) with the affix णि in the ordinary way without any augment. The special augment ज् to वा indicates that this root will not take शुक्, which it would have otherwise done by the last sûtra. The root वा belongs to Bhu. 969 (ओवै शोषणे) ॥

लीलोर्नुग्लुकावन्यतरस्यां स्नेहविपातने ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ ली, लोः, नुक्, लुकौ, अन्यतरस्याम, स्नेह विपातने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ली लो इत्येतयोरङ्गयोरन्यतरस्यां नुक् लुक् इत्येतावागमौ भवतो णौ परतः स्नेहविपातनेऽर्थे ॥

39. The roots ली and ला get optionally नुक् and लुक् augment respectively, before the affix णि, when the causative means 'the melting of a fatty substance'.

As वि लीनयति, वि लालयति, वि लाययति, or वि लापयति घृतम् ॥ The augment नुक् is added to ली when the root ends in long ई, and that also optionally. When the augment is not added, the regular causative लाययति is formed. But when ली gets the form ला by VI. 1. 51, it does not take the augment नुक् ॥ The root ली includes both ली and लीङ् of Kryâdi and Divâdi The root ला includes ला 'to give' (adâdi 49), and ला the form assumed by ली under VI. 1. 51. When लुक् is not added to ला, पुक् is added by VII. 3. 36. Why do we say when meaning 'to melt fat'? Observe only लोहं विलापयति, जटाभिरालापयते (I. 3. 70).

भियो हेतुभये षुक् ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ भियः, हेतुभये, षुक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भी इत्येतस्य हेतुभयेऽर्थे षुगागमो भवति णौ परतः ॥

40. The augment षुक् is added to the root भी before the affix णि, when fear is caused immediately owing to the agent of the Causative.

As मुण्डो भीषयते, जटिलो भीषयते ॥ See I. 3.68. Herealso भी with long ई being employed in the sûtra, indicates that षुक् is added then only, when the root has the form भी, but when it assumes the form भा by VI. 1. 56, the proper augment पुक् will come: as मुण्डो भापयते ॥ Why do we say 'when the agent of the causative is himself the direct cause of fear'? Observe कुञ्चिकयैनं भाययति, for here कुञ्चिका causes fear and not the agent of the verb. The ई is vṛiddhied and आय substituted.

स्फायो वः ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्फायः, वः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्फाय् इत्येतस्याङ्गस्य वकारादेशो भवति णौ परतः ॥

41. For the final of the stem स्फाय् is substituted व् in the causative.

As स्फावयति ॥

शदेरगतौ तः ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ शदेः, अ गतौ तः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शदे रङ्गस्यागतावर्थे वर्तमानस्य तकारादेशो भवति णौ परतः ॥

42. For the final of the शद् is substituted त्, in the Causative, when it does not mean 'to drive'.

As पुष्पाणि शातयति, फलानि शातयति, but गाः शादयति गोपालकः ॥

रुहः पोन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ रुहः, पः, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रुहरन्यतरस्यां पकारादेशो भवति णौ परतः ॥

43. प् may optionally be substituted for the final of रुह् in the Causative.

As व्रीहीन् रोपयति or रोहयति ॥ According to Padamanjari this sûtra could be dispensed with. The form रोपयति could be obtained from the root रुप् of Divâdi class; which though meaning मोहन may be taken to mean 'grow' also; अनेकार्थत्वाद् धातूनाम् ॥

प्रत्ययस्थात्कात्पूर्वस्यात इदाप्यसुपः ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रत्ययस्थात्, कात्, पूर्वस्य, अतः, इत्, आपि, असुपः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रत्यये तिष्ठतीति प्रत्ययस्थः तस्मात् प्रत्ययस्थात्ककारात् पूर्वस्याकारस्य इकारादेशो भवति आपि परतः, स चेदाप्सुपः परो न भवति ।

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ मामकनरकयोरुपसंख्यानं कर्तव्यमप्रत्ययस्थत्वात् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ प्रत्ययनिषेधे त्यक्त्यपोश्चोपसंख्यानम् ॥

44. इ is substituted for the अ which stands before the क् belonging to an affix, when the Feminine-ending आ follows, provided that, it does not come after a case-affix (i.e. when such a word in अक does not stand at the end of a Bahuvrîhi).

That which stands in an affix is called प्रत्ययस्थ, i. e. क् must be the part of the affix. The अक् is changed into इक् in the feminine in आ ॥ As जटिलिका, मुण्डिका, गुणिका, हसिका, कारिका, हारिका ॥ So also एतिका from एतद् + अकच् + आप् एतकद् + आप् ॥ The इ is then replaced by अ (VII. 2. 102). The क् must belong to the affix, therefore, not in शका from शक शक्नोति ॥ The स्थ in प्रत्ययस्थ is for the sake of distinctness, there is no affix which is only क ॥ The rule applies to क, therefore, not to नन्दना, रमणा ॥ The इ is substituted for the अ which precedes (पूर्वस्य) क्, and not the अ which follows क्, as पटुका, मृदुका ॥ The must be preceded by short अ, therefore, not here गोका, नौका, nor in राका, धाका ॥ The substitution takes place when आ follows, therefore, not in कारकौ ॥ The word आपि qualifies क् ॥ The क् should be followed by आ ॥ Obj. But in कारिका from कारक + आ, क् is not directly followed by आ, but by अ? Ans. When अ + आ = आ there is ekâdeśa, the क् is followed by आ, there being no third letter intervening then. Obj. But an ekâdeśa is sthânivat to what it replaces when a pûrva-vidhi is to be applied, therefore there still exists the intervention. Ans. The express text of this sûtra will remove the intervention. Obj. Then इ should be substituted in रथकट्या and गर्गकाम्या ॥ These words are formed by the affixes कट्यच् and काम्यच्, as रथानां समूहः, (IV. 2. 51) and गर्गमिच्छति आत्मनः (III. 1. 9)=रथकट्य and गर्गकाम्य ॥ Here also before the क् of the affix, the अ should be replaced

by इ, when the feminine affix आ is added: for there is no intervention between क् and आ (the intermediate letters being non-existent, as you say). Ans. We say that intervention is no intervention, when it consists of only *one* letter, which even does not *actually* exist, but only through the fiction of sthânivat. Therefore, the feminine of the above words will not take इ, as क् is not *followed immediately* (in the sense above expressed) by आप्, as रथकट्या and गार्गकाम्या, because in these *actually* many letters are *heard* as intervening between the क and आप् ॥

Why do we say असुपः 'provided that the feminine affix आप् does not come after a case-affix'? Observe बहवः परिव्राजका अस्यां मथुरायां = बहुपरिव्राजका मथुरा॥ Here आप् comes after the noun बहुपरिव्राजक which ends in a case-affix, and hence the अ of क is not changed to इ ॥ The case-affix is elided by II. 4. 71, and it still exerts its influence by I. 1. 62. The word असुपः is a प्रसज्यप्रतिषेधः (a simple prohibition of the particular matter specified without mentioning what is different from it): and not a पर्युदासः or exception. Had it been a Paryudâsa, (सुपोऽन्यः = असुपः) then आप् coming after a full word not having a case-affix, would have caused the इ substitution in the last example. Nor should असुपः be explained as that in which there exists no case-affix. Had it been so, then in बहूनि चर्माण्यस्यां = बहुचर्मिका no इ ought to be added.

Vârt:—मामक and नरक should be enumerated, for the क् of these is not part of the affix: as मामिका, नरिका ॥ Here ममक् is substituted for मम before the affix अण् (IV. 3. 3), to which is then added टाप् ॥ The word ममक takes long ई in the feminine only when it is a Name or in the Vedas (IV. 1. 30): therefore though मामक ends in अण्, it does not take ङीप् (IV. 1. 15) but टाप् (IV. 1. 4), नरान् कायति = नरक formed with the affix क (अ III. 2. 3).

Vârt:—The rule applies to the words ending in त्यक् (IV. 2. 98) and त्यप्, (IV. 2. 104) in spite of the prohibition in VII. 3. 46. As दाक्षिणात्यिका, इहत्यिका ॥

The word in the sûtra is कात् the fifth case of क ending in अ ॥ If then this be the condition, that the affix must end in ka क and not in k क्, then the rule will not apply to एतिका ॥ Because here the augment is अकच् (अक्) with क्; the final अ in अकच् is for euphony only, and not a portion of the affix, as we find in भिन्धकि, छिन्धकि, हन्धाकि ॥ The word कात therefore, is construed to mean ending in the *consonant* क् ॥

न यासयोः ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, या, सयोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ या सा इत्येतयोरिकारादेशो न भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ यत्तदोः प्रतिषेधे त्यकन उपसंख्यानम् ॥ वा० ॥ पावकादीनां छन्दस्युपसंख्यानम् ॥

वा० ॥ आशिषि चोपसंख्यानम् ॥ वा० ॥ उत्तरपदलोपे चोपसंख्यानम् ॥

वा० ॥ क्षिपकादीनां चोपसंख्यानम् ॥ वा० ॥ तारका ज्योतिष्युपसंख्यानम् ॥

वा० ॥ वर्णका तान्तव उपसंख्यानम ॥ वा० ॥ वर्तका शकुनौ प्राचामुपसंख्यानम् ॥

वा० ॥ अष्टका पितृदैवत्ये ॥ वा० ॥ वा सूतकापुत्रकावृन्दारकाणामुपसंख्यानम ॥

45. The इ is not substituted for the अ of य and स, with the augment क, when the feminine आ follows.

As यका, सका ॥ The या and सा simply stand for यद् and तद्, and the prohibition is not confined to the nominative case only, as the forms या and सा may lead one to think. न यत् तदोः would have been a better sûtra. The prohibition applies in every case, as यकामधीते, तकां पचामहे ॥ Or यकांयकामधीमहे (i. e. ऋचां गाथां च), and तकां तकाम्पचामहे (i. e. ओषधीं शाकिनीं वा)

Vârt:—The affix त्यकन् (V. 3. 34) should be enumerated also along with यत् and तद् ॥ As उपत्यका, अधित्यका ॥

Vârt:—The feminine of पावक &c in the Veda does not take इ for अ ॥ As हिरण्यवर्णः शुचयः पावकाः, यासु अ लोमकाः, अलकाः &c. But पाविकाः, अलोमिकाः in secular literature.

Vârt:—So also in the affix वुन् used in benediction: as जीवतात् जीवका, नन्दतात् नन्दका, भवतात् भवका ॥ See III. 1. 150.

Vârt:—So also when the second member is elided in a compound: as देवका, यज्ञका, the second member दत्त is elided, the fuller forms being देवदत्तिका, यज्ञदत्तिका (अनजादौ च विभाषा लोपो वक्तव्यः) See V. 3. 83 Vârt.

Vârt:—क्षिपक &c should be enumerated in this prohibition: as क्षिपका, ध्रुवका, धुवका, चटका ॥

Vârt:—तारका is formed when it means 'stars', but तारिका 'a maid-servant' from तारयति ॥

Vârt:—वर्णका is formed when it means 'a mantle or mask', but वर्णिका 'an expounder': as वर्णिका भागुरी लोकायते 'Bhâgurî is a commentary of Lokâyata'

Vârt:—वर्तका 'a bird' according to the Eastern grammarians, but वर्तिका according to the Northern authorities. Why do we say 'when meaning a bird'? Observe वर्तिका भागुरी लोकायतस्य ॥

Vârt:—अष्टका when meaning a पितृदैवत्य ceremony, but अष्टिका खारी ॥ The ceremony related to Pitṛidevata is called Pitridaivatya, the affix is यत् ॥ The former is derived from the root अश् with the affix तकन् (अश्नन्ति ब्राह्मणा अस्यामस्यां), the other is derived from the numeral अष्ट by the affix कन् (V. 1. 22).

Vârt:—Optionally सूतका, पुत्रका and वृन्दारका, the other forms are सूतिका, पुत्रिका, and वृन्दारिका ॥

उदीचामातः स्थाने यकपूर्वायाः ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदीचाम्, आतः, स्थाने, यक, पूर्वायाः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उदीचामाचार्याणां मतेन यकारपूर्वायाः ककारपूर्वायाश्चातः स्थाने योऽकारस्तस्यातः स्थाने इकारादेशो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ यकपूर्वत्वे धात्वन्तप्रतिषेधः ॥

46. According to the opinion of Northern grammarians, इ is not substituted for that अ which is obtained by

shortening the long आ of the feminine (under rule VII. 4. 13 before the affix क), which is preceded by a य् or a क् ॥

The mention of 'northern grammarians' makes this an optional rule. As इभ्यका or इभ्यिका, क्षत्रियका or क्षत्रियिका, चटकका or चटकिका, मूषिकका, मूषिकिका ॥ Why do we say preceded by य् or क्? Observe अश्वक-अश्विका only (from अश्वा ॥ The word यकपूर्वायाः is exhibited in the feminine, in order to indicate that the rule applies when the *feminine* affix आ is shortened to अ ॥ Therefore not here शुभंयिका from शुभंया (शुभं याति). So also अइयिका from अइया, where आ is part of the root या (see III. 2. 74).

Vârt:—Prohibition must be stated of the य and क being finals of a root. When the य or क preceding this अ, is the final of the root, the prohibition contained in the sûtra, does not apply: as सुनयिका, सुशयिका, सुपाकिका, and अशोकिका॥

Why do we say 'of long आ'? Observe सांकाश्ये भवा = सांकाश्यिका ॥ The word संकाश्य is formed from संकाश by the affix ण्य (संकाशेन निर्वृत्तं) ॥ Then is added the affix वुञ् (IV. 2. 121). Here there is no shortening of a long आ, and hence no option is allowed. But in इभ्यका or इभ्यिका the long आ has been shortened. Because this word is thus derived: इभमर्हति = इभ्या (दण्डादिभ्यो यः V. 1. 66). To this क is added, and the long आ is shortened.

Why is the word स्थाने used in the sûtra, when by the general rule षष्ठी स्थाने योगा this word would be understood here? The special mention is for the sake of pointing out that the अ which takes the place of आ is intended here: i. e. the इ replaces this short अ; but had the word स्थाने not been used in the sûtra the इ would have replaced the long आ ॥

भस्त्रैषाजाज्ञाद्वास्वा नञ्पूर्वाणामपि ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ भस्त्रा, एषा, अजा, ज्ञा, द्वा, स्वा, नञ्, पूर्वाणाम्, अपि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उदीचामातः स्थाने इति वर्तते ॥ आतः स्थाने योऽकारस्तस्य इत्वं न भवति उदीचामाचार्याणां मतेन ॥

47. According to the opinion of Northern grammarians, इ is not substituted for that अ which is obtained by shortening the आ (before क by VII. 4. 13), of भस्त्रा, एषा, अजा, ज्ञा, द्वा (VII. 2. 102), and स्वा; even not then when the negative particle precedes them.

As भस्त्रका or भस्त्रिका, अभस्त्रका or अभस्त्रिका, एषका or एषिका, अजका or अजिका, ज्ञका or ज्ञिका, अज्ञका or अज्ञिका, द्वके or द्विके, स्वका or स्विका, अस्वका or अस्विका ॥ Of एषा and द्वि there are no examples with the negative particle. For if the compounding with नञ् takes place after the addition of the अकच्, or on the contrary, if first अकच् be added and then the नञ् compounding takes place, in both alternatives, the case-affixes must be added in order to substitute अ for the final by VII. 2. 102: and it is only when this अ is substituted that the fe-

minine टाप् can come. So that the case-affix is the principal ingredient, and टाप् comes after सुप्, and therefore by the prohibition of असुपः in VII. 3. 44, there can arise no occasion for the substitution of इ ॥ Therefore अनेषका and अद्वके are the invariable forms of these words with the negative particle. स्व meaning agnates and property, takes the negative particle. भस्त्रा is a word which has no corresponding masculine form, and as such, by the following rule VII. 3. 48 it would not have taken इ; its special mention here indicates that it should be the secondary member of the compound here: as अविद्यमाना भस्त्रा यस्या = अभस्त्रा, the Diminutive of which is अभस्त्रका or अभस्त्रिका ॥ Here first the भस्त्रा is shortened as it is a secondary member (upasarjana), then when the Bahuvrîhi is made, the feminine affix टाप् is added to this भाषितपुंस्क word, then this आ is shortened before क by VII. 4. 13. This short अ (VII. 4. 13) does not come in the room of the आ which is ordained to come after a word having no corresponding masculine.

The force of अपि shows that the rule applies, when words other than नञ् also precede, and even when no words precede. As निर्भस्त्रिका or निर्भस्त्रका, बहुभस्त्रिका or बहुभस्त्रका ॥

Note:—The form द्वके is from the word द्विक, dual number, the final इ is changed to अ (त्यदाद्यत्व), then the feminine आ (टाप्) is added (द्वका), and then ई is substituted for औ ॥

अभाषितपुंस्काच्च ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अ, भाषितपुंस्कात्, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभाषितपुंस्काद्विहितस्यातः स्थाने योकारस्तस्योदीच्यामाचार्याणांमतेन इकारादेशो न भवति ॥

48. According to the opinion of Northern Grammarians, इ is not substituted for an अ obtained from the shortening of the Feminine आ (VII. 4. 13), when to the feminine in long आ there is no equivalent masculine, even when the Negative particle precedes.

As खट्वका or खट्विका, अखट्विका or अखट्वका, परमखट्वका or परमखट्विका ॥ When before the affix कप्, the stem is shortened in a Bahuvrîhi, this rule will apply (VII. 4. 15). There also, the अ must be substituted for the आ of a feminine word which has no corresponding masculine. But this rule does not apply when the negative compound is the synthesis of अविद्यमाना खट्वा अस्याः = अखट्वा, अल्पा अखट्वा = अखट्विका ॥ Similarly अतिक्रान्ता खट्वाम् = अतिखट्वा, अल्पा अतिखट्वा = अतिखट्विका ॥

Note:—The word खट्वा is always feminine and has no corresponding masculine.

आदाचार्याणाम् ॥ ४९ ॥ आत्, आचार्याणाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभाषितपुंस्कादातः स्थाने योऽकारस्तस्याचार्याणामाकारादेशो भवति ॥

49. According to the opinion of other Teachers, आ is substituted for the अ which arose from the shortening of the feminine आ of a word which has no corresponding masculine form.

As खट्टाका, अखट्टाका or परमखट्टाका॥

Note:—The "Teachers" referred to here are either those other than the Northern Grammarians, or it may refer to the Teacher of Pânini, the plural being for the sake of respect. Thus there are three forms अखट्टका, अखाट्टिका, and अखट्टाका॥

ठस्येकः॥ ५०॥ पदानि॥ ठस्य, इकः॥

वृत्तिः॥ अङ्गस्य निमित्तं यष्ठः, कथाङ्गस्य निमित्तं, प्रत्यय, स्तस्य प्रत्ययठस्य इक इत्ययमादेशो भवति॥

50. For ठ in the beginning of a Taddhita affix there is substituted इक॥

As आक्षिकः, शालाकिकः (ठक् IV. 4. 1), लावणिकः (ठञ् IV. 4. 52). In the affixes ठक्, ठञ् &c, if the affix is the consonant ठ्, and अ is only for euphony, then here also the अ is for pronunciation only: but if on the contrary, the aggregate ठ (ठ् + अ) is the affix, then the same is the case here. This rule does not apply in Unâdi affixes always, as कणेष् ठः = कण्ठः (Uṇ I. 103), for there is diversity (बहुल) in the Uṇâdi.

माथितिकः (= मथितं पण्यमस्य IV. 4. 51) is thus formed मथित + ठक् = मथित् + इक (VI. 4. 148 the अ is dropped). Now arises the doubt, should इक be replaced by क as taught in the next aphorism VII. 3. 51, as it comes after a त्॥ This substitution, however, does not take place, because it was इक् which caused the elision of अ, and now त् which became final by such elision cannot cause the destruction of इक its producer (सन्निपातलक्षणो विधिरनिमित्तं तद्विघातस्य). Or the elided अ (VI. 4. 148) may be considered as sthânivat, and would thus prevent क substitution.

There are two views about this ठ॥ Some say that the consonant ठ् only is the sthânî, and the अ is only for the sake of pronunciation. The others hold that ठ, the consonant and the vowel are sthânî in the aggregate. In the first view, the rule would apply to the consonant ठ् at the end of roots like पठ् in पठिता, पठितुं; in the other view the rule would apply to the affix अठच् in कर्मठः॥ Hence, the commentary uses the word, that ठ must be the cause of अङ्ग॥

इसुसुक्तान्तात्कः॥ ५१॥ पदानि॥ इस्, उस्, उक्, त, अन्तात्, कः,॥

वृत्तिः॥ इस् उस् इत्येवमन्तानामुगन्तानां तान्तानां चाङ्गानामुत्तरस्य ठस्य क इत्ययमादेशो भवति॥

वार्त्तिकम्॥ दोष उपसंख्यानम्॥

51. क is substituted for ठ after a stem ending in इस्, उस्, उ or ऊ, ऋ and त्॥

As सार्पिष्कः, धानुष्कः, याजुष्कः, नैषादकर्षुकः, शाबरजम्बुकः; मातृकम्, पैतृकम्; औदश्वि-

तक:, याकतक, याकतक: ॥ The इस् and उस् are the affixes of that name, therefore not here, आशिषिक: (= आशिषा चरति), औषिका (= उषा चरति) ॥

Vârt:—So also after दोस्, as दौष्क: (दोर्भ्यां चरति) ॥

The word सार्पिष्क: is formed by ठक् of सर्पिष पण्यं, (IV. 4. 51) and स is changed to ष by इण: ष: (VIII. 3. 39). मातुष्क: is by ठक् of प्रहरणं ॥ बाहुष्क is by ठक् of दीव्यति ॥ नैषादकर्षुक: &c by ठञ् of भवाद्यर्थे औरेशे ठञ् ॥ मातृक: by ठञ् of तत आगत:, ऋतष्ठञ् ॥ औशभक्तुक: by ठञ् (IV. 2. 19) शाकुल्क: by ठञ् of संसृष्टे (IV. 4. 12).

चजोः कु घिण्ण्यतोः ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ चजोः, कु, घित्, ण्यतोः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चकारजकारयोः कवर्गादेशो भवति घिति ण्यति च प्रत्यये परतः ॥

52. For the final च् or ज् of a root, there is substituted a corresponding guttural, before an affix having an indicatory घ्, and before ण्यत् ॥

As पाक, त्याग:, राग: with घञ्, and पाक्यम्, वाक्यम्, and रेक्यम् with ण्यत् ॥ Compare VII. 3. 59.

न्यङ्क्वादीनां च ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ न्यङ्कु, आदीनाम्, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ न्यङ्कु इत्येवमादीनां कवर्गादेशो भवति ॥

53. The guttural is substituted in न्यङ्कु and the rest.

Thus न्यङ्कु: from नि + अञ्च् + उ; So also मद्गुः ॥

(1) By the sûtra नावञ्चे: (Uṇ I. 17), the affix उ is added to the root अञ्च preceded by नि ॥ (2) मद्गु is formed by adding उ to the root मस्ज (Uṇ I. 7) (3) भृगु:, is formed by the affix उ added to the root भ्रस्ज, the स् is elided, and र is vocalised (Uṇ I. 28). (4 and 5) दूरेपाक:, फलेपाक: formed by the अच् affix of पचादि class, (= दूरे पच्यते स्वयमेव, फले पच्यते स्वयमेव) ॥ The vṛiddhi is by nipâtana. The seventh case-affix is not elided in these compound words by VI. 3. 14. (6) क्षणेपाक: ॥ This word is read by some. Others read these as दूरेपाका, फलेपाका with टाप् ॥ A third reading is दूरेपाकु: फलेपाकु:, by the affix उ added irregularly. (7 and 8) तक्र and वक्रं ॥ These are formed from the roots तञ्च and वञ्च with the affix रक् (Uṇ II. 13). (9) व्यतिषङ्ग: formed from व्यतिषजति with पचादि अच् ॥ (10) अनुषङ्ग: ॥ (11) अवसर्ग: ॥ (12) उपसर्ग: ॥ (13) मेघ: ॥ (14) श्वपाक: ॥ (15) मांसपाक: ॥ (16) कपोतपाक: ॥ (17) उलूकपाक: ॥ (18) पिण्डपाक: formed by the affix अण् with an accusative word in construction as upapada. (19) अर्घ: when it denotes a name meaning 'price'. This is formed from the root अर्ह with the affix घञ् ॥ When it is not a name, the form is अर्ह: ॥ (20 and 21) अवदाघ: and निदाघ:, when they are names meaning "Summer or Hot season". These are formed from the root दह् preceded by अव and नि ॥ But when they are not names, the forms are अवदाह:, निदाह: ॥ (22) न्यग्रोध: formed from the root रुह् preceded by न्यक् and by adding the पचादि अच् ॥ The ह is changed to ध ॥ (23) वीरुत् ॥ Formed from रुह् with वि and the affix क्विप्, and ह changed to ध ॥ न्यग्रोहयति and विरोहयति ॥

1 न्यङ्कु, 2 मद्गु, 3 भृगु, 4 दूरेपाक, 5 फलेपाक, 6 क्षणेपाक, 7 दूरेपाका, 8 फलेपाका, 9 दूरेपाकु, 10 फलेपाकु, 11 तक्र, 12 वक्र, 13 व्यतिषङ्ग, 14 अनुषङ्ग, 15 अवसर्ग, 16 उपसर्ग, 17 श्वपाक, 18 मांसपाक, 19 मूलपाक, 20 कपोतपाक, 21 उलूकपाक, 22 संज्ञायां मेघनिदाघावदाघार्घाः मेघ 23 न्यग्रोध, 24 वीरुध् ॥

हो हन्तेर्ञ्णिन्नेषु ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ हः, हन्तेः, ञ्णित्, नेषु, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ हन्तेर्हकारस्य कवर्गादेशो भवति ञिति णिति प्रत्यये परतो नकारे च ॥

54. A guttural is substituted for the ह in हन् before an affix having an indicatory ञ्. or ण् and before न ॥

As घातयति with णिच्, घातकः with ण्वुल्, साधु घातिन् with इन्, घातंघातम् with णमुल्, घातः with घञ्, घ्नन्ति, घ्नन्तु, and अघ्नन् before न् ॥ Why do we specify ह्? Otherwise the substitute would replace the final letter. Why of हन्? Observe प्रहारः, प्रहारकः ॥ ण् and ञ् qualify the affixes, and न् means the न् of हन् which becomes joined with ह् when the intermediate अ is dropped. This न् comes in immediate contact with ह, because it is *heard* in pronouncing, and in writing. If the elided अ be considered as sthânivat, then ह can never be followed by न्, for there will exist the intervention of this latent अ, but by virtue of the special text of this sûtra, such an elided अ should not be considered as an intervention. And if ञ्, ण् and न् be all considered as qualifying the ह् of हन्, still on the maxim येन नाव्यवधानं तेन व्यवहितेऽपि वचनप्रामाण्यात् therefore ण or ञ are considered to come after ह् though a portion of the root intervenes. But not so here, हननमिच्छति हननीयति, add ण्वुल् to this Denominative root, and we have हननायकः ॥

अभ्यासाच्च ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अभ्यासात्, च, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अभ्यासादुत्तरस्य हन्तिहकारस्य कवर्गादेशो भवति ॥

55. A Guttural is substituted for the ह in हन् after a reduplication also.

As जिघांसति, जङ्घन्यते, अहं जघान ॥ The rule applies when such an affix follows which causes the reduplication of the stem (aṅga) हन्, therefore not here हननीयितुमिच्छति = जिहननीयिषति ॥

हेरचङि ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ हेः, अ, चङि, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ हिनोतेर्हकारस्याभ्यासादुत्तरस्य कवर्गादेशो भवति अचङि ॥

56. A guttural is substituted for the ह of हि (हिनोति) after a reduplication, but not in the Reduplicated Aorist.

As जिघीषति, प्र जेघीयते, प्रजिघाय; but प्राजीहयद् दूतम् in the simple Aorist. Obj. The word अचङि could be dispensed with from the sûtra, in as much as चङ् can never come after the simple root हि, but after the causative of हि, and the causative stem of हि is a different verb than, हि. Ans. The fact of this word अचङि being employed in the sûtra indicates the existence of the following maxim : प्रकृति ग्रहणे ण्यधिकस्यापि ग्रहणम् " A radical denotes whenever it is employed in Grammar, not only that radical itself, but it denotes also whatever stem may result from the addition to it of the causative affix णि " ॥ Therefore we have प्रजिघाययिषति ॥

The word प्राजीहयत् is the Aorist of the causative of हि, with चङ्, the elision of णि, the shortening of the penultimate the reduplication, guttural change by कुहोश्चुः, and lengthening by दीर्घो लघोः ॥

सन्लिटोर्जेः ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सन्, लिटोः, जेः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सनि लिटि च प्रत्यये जेरङ्गस्य योऽभ्यासस्तस्मादुत्तरस्य कवर्गादेशो भवति ॥

57. A guttural is substituted for the ज् in जि after a reduplication before the Desiderative affix सन्, and in the Perfect.

As जिगीषति, जिगाय ॥ Why in the Desiderative and Perfect only? Observe जेजीयते ॥ Though the root ज्या also assumes the form जि by vocalisation (VI. 1. 16, 17) yet that जि is not to be taken here. That will form जिज्यतुः, जिज्युः ॥

विभाषा चेः ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, चेः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चिनोतेरङ्गस्य सन्लिटोरभ्यासादुत्तरस्य विभाषा कवर्गादेशो भवति ॥

58. A guttural is optionally substituted for the च of चि after a reduplication in the Desiderative and Perfect.

As चिचीषति or चिकीषति, चिचाय or चिकाय ॥ But चेचीयते in other cases.

न क्वादेः ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, कु, आदेः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कवर्गादेर्धातोश्चजोः कवर्गादेशो न भवति ॥

59. A guttural is not substituted for the final च् ज् of a root which begins with a guttural, before an affix having an indicatory घ and before ण्यत् ॥

As कूजः, खर्जः and गर्जः with घञ्; कूज्यः, खर्ज्यः and गर्ज्यः with ण्यत् ॥ This is an exception to VII. 3. 52.

अजिव्रज्योश्च ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ अजि, व्रज्योः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अजि व्रजि इत्येतयोश्च कवर्गादेशो न भवति ॥

60. A guttural is not substituted for the final or ज् of अज् and व्रज् before an affix having an indicatory घ and before ण्यत् ॥

This is an exception to VII. 3. 52. Thus समाजः, उदाजः, परिव्राजः and परिव्राज्यम् ॥ There is no example of अज् with the affix ण्यत्, because by II. 4. 56, वी replaces अज् before all ârdhadhâtuka affixes except घञ् and अप् ॥ The च of the sûtra implies that the rule applies to other roots also not mentioned, as वाजः, वाज्यम् from वज् ॥

भुजन्युब्जौ पाण्युपतापयोः ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ भुज, न्युब्जौ, पाणि, उपतापयोः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भुज न्युब्ज इत्येतौ शब्दौ निपात्येते यथासंख्यम् पाणावुपतापे च ॥

61. भुज 'an arm', and न्युब्ज 'a kind of bodily disease', are irregularly formed, without any change of their ज before घञ् ॥

The word भुजः = भुज्यतेऽनेन, with घञ् (III. 3. 121). The irregularity consists in the absence of Guṇa, as well as of gutturalisation. न्युब्जिताः घ्नतेऽस्मिन् = न्युब्जः from the root उब्ज आर्जवे (Tudâdi 20). The irregularity consists in the non-changing of ज ॥ When not meaning 'an arm' and 'a disease', we have भोगः, समुद्गः ॥

प्रयाजानुयाजौ यज्ञाङ्गे ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रयाज, अनुयाजौ, यज्ञ, अङ्गे, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ कुत्वप्रतिषेधोऽनुवर्तते ॥ प्रयाज अनुयाज इत्येतौ निपात्येते यज्ञाङ्गेऽभिधेये ॥ प्रपूर्वस्य यजेर्घञि कुत्वाभावो निपात्यते ॥

62. प्रयाज and अनुयाज are irregularly formed with घञ्, when meaning a portion of a sacrificial offering.

These words are derived from यज् with घञ् without the guttural substitution; as पञ्च प्रयाजाः, त्रयोऽनुयाजाः, त्वमग्ने प्रयाजाना पश्चात् त्वं पुरस्तात् ॥ But प्रयागः and अनुयागः when not referring to portions of a sacrifice. The प्रयाज and अनुयाज are illustrative only. The guttural change does not take place with other prepositions &c. also, as उपयाजः, उपांशुयाजः, संयाजः, ऋतुयाजः, as in the sentences एकादशोपयाजाः, उपांशु याजमन्तरा यजति, अष्टौ पत्नी संयाजा भवन्ति, ऋतुयाजै चरन्ति ॥

वञ्चेर्गतौ ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वञ्चेः, गतौ, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ वञ्चेरङ्गस्य गतौ वर्तमानस्य कवर्गादेशो न भवति ॥

63. A guttural is not substituted for the palatal of वञ्च् in the sense of 'going'.

As वञ्च्यं वञ्चन्ति वणिजः, but वाङ्क्यं काष्ठं = कुटिलं ॥ Why is गतौ used, when we know from the Dhatupâṭha (Bhuadi 204) that वञ्च means 'to go'? The specification shows that the roots possess many meanings other than those assigned to them in the Dhâtupâṭha.

ओक उचः के ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ ओकः, उचः, के, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ उचेर्धातोः के प्रत्यये ओक इति निपात्यते ॥

64, ओक is irregularly formed from the root उच् with the affix क (अ) ॥

The change of च् into क्, and the Guṇa are the irregularities. As न्योकः 'a bird, a tree'. The affix क is added under III. 1. 135. The क is added with the force of घञ the Kâraka relation being that of Location &c. The घञ affix would have given the form regularly, but then the word would have been acutely accented on the first syllable, but it is desired that the acute should be on the last. The words दिवौकसः, जलौकसः &c are also irregular,

formed with the Uṇadi affix अतुन् the क being substituted for च् as an Uṇadi diversity (bahulam).

ण्यआवश्यके ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ ण्यः, आवश्यके, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आवश्यकेऽर्थे यो ण्यप्रत्ययस्तस्मिन् परभूते चजोः कुत्वं न भवति ॥

65. A guttural is not substituted for the palatal, before the affix ण्य, when it means 'to do as absolute necessity'.

As अवश्य पाच्यम्, अवश्य वाच्यम्, अवश्यरेच्यम्, but पाक्यं, वाक्यं and रेक्यं when the sense is not that of necessity.

यजयाचरुचप्रवचर्चश्च ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ यज, याच, रुच, प्रवच, ऋचः, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यज याच रुच प्रवच ऋच इत्येतेषां ण्ये परतः कवर्गादेशो न भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ ण्यति प्रतिषेधे त्यजेरुपसंख्यानम् ॥

66. A guttural is not substituted for the final palatals of यज्, याच, रुच, प्र-वच्, and ऋच् before the affix ण्यत् ॥

As याज्यम्, वाच्यम्, रोच्यम्, प्रवाच्यम्, and अर्च्यम् ॥ Though ऋच् has a penultimate ऋ and therefore by III. 1. 110 would have taken क्यप्, it takes ण्यत् by force of this sûtra. प्रवच् shows that the present sûtra applies to it, though it means 'a word or speech', and the prohibition of VII. 3. 67 does not apply. प्रवाच्य is the name of a particular book. Others say that the prohibition applies to वच् only when it is preceded by प्र, and does not mean word or speech (VII. 3. 67) and not when it is preceded by any other preposition. As अविवाक्य-महरिति पठन्ति ॥ This even in a very restricted sense, namely on the tenth day of the Daśarâtra ceremony. In other places we have अविव.च्यं ॥

Vârt:—त्यज् should he enumerated in this connection i. e. before ण्यत्, the ज remains unaltered, as त्याज्यम् ॥

वचोऽशब्दसंज्ञायाम् ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ वचः, अ, शब्द, संज्ञायाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ण्यइति वर्त्तते वचोऽशब्दसंज्ञायां ण्यति परतः कवर्गो न भवति ॥

67. The guttural is not substituted for the final of वच् before ण्यत्, when it does not mean 'a word or speech'.

As वाच्यमाह, अवाच्यमाह, but अवघुषितं वाक्यमाह ॥

प्रयोज्यनियोज्यौ शक्यार्थे ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रयोज्य, नियोज्यौ, शक्य, अर्थे, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रपूर्वस्य निपूर्वस्य च युजेः प्रयोज्य नियोज्य इत्येतौ शब्दौ शक्यार्थे निपात्येते ॥

68. प्रयोज्य and नियोज्य preserve their palatal in the sense of 'capable to do this'.

As प्रयोज्यः = प्रयोक्तुंशक्यः ; नियोज्यः = नियोक्तुंशक्यः, but प्रयोग्य and नियोग्य in other senses.

भोज्यं भक्ष्ये ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ भोज्यम, भक्ष्ये, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भोज्यं निपात्यते भक्ष्येऽभिधेये ॥ भुजेर्ण्यति कुत्वाभावो निपात्यते शक्यार्थे ॥

69. भोज्य preserves its palatal in the sense of 'eatable'.

The word is derived from भुज् with ण्यत् in the sense of 'able'. As भोज्य ओदनः 'eatable rice', भोज्या यवागूः 'eatable barley-gruel'. भक्ष्य here means anything which is fit for being eaten. When not having this sense, we have भोग्यः कम्बलः ॥

घोर्लोपो लेटि वा ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ घोः, लोपः, लेटि, वा, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ घुसंज्ञकानां लेटि परतो वा लोपो भवति ॥

70. The final of दा and धा (घु roots) may optionally be elided in the Subjunctive (लेट्) ॥

As दधद्रत्नानि दाशुषे Rig I. 35. 8. सोमो ददद् गन्धर्वाय Rig X. 85. 41. But also यदग्निरग्नये ददात् ॥ The form ददात्, however, may also be deduced even when the final of दा is elided, for then by the आट् augment (III. 4. 94) we get this form. The word वा is therefore employed in the sûtra only for the sake of distinctness, for the sûtra without वा would have also given the above forms, as we have shown. Or the वा is used to remove the doubt which one may entertain to this effect "ददात् is the form which may be deduced by the general rule, since लोप is taught, this form will be excluded altogether and will never appear".

The form दधत् is thus evolved. We add तिप् to the root धा; then the इ of ति is elided (III. 4. 97). दाशुषे = यजमानाय रत्नानि दद्यात् ॥ Others say, the दधत् is the form of the root with the शतृ affix. ददत् is from the root दाण् ॥

Some say that वा is jnâpaka and indicates the existence of the following maxim :—अनित्यमागमशासनम् "the rule about augments is *anitya*". So that the augment आट् being *anitya*, we could not have got the form ददात् ॥ Hence the employment of the word वा ॥

ओतः श्यनि ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ ओतः, श्यनि, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ओकारान्तस्याङ्गस्य श्यनि परतो लोपो भवति ॥

71. A stem ending in ओ loses its final before the Present characteristic श्यन् of the Divâdi class.

As निश्यति from शो, अवच्छ्यति from छो, अवद्यति from दो, and अवस्यति from सो ॥ The त् in ओत् is for the sake of euphony or ease of pronunciation.

According to Padamanjari, the sûtra should have been ओतः श्यिति, and thereby there would be the saving of half a mâtrâ, and also there would be no necessity of repeating the word श्यिति in VII. 3. 75.

क्सस्याचि ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्सस्य, अचि, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्सस्याजादौ प्रत्यये लोपो भवति ॥

72. The अ of the Aorist characteristic क्स is elided before an affix beginning with a vowel.

As अधुक्षाताम्, अधुक्षाथाम्, अधुक्षि from the root दुह् ॥ Had the अ not been elided before आताम् and आथाम्, then इय must have been substituted for it according to VII. 2. 81. Why do we say before an affix beginning with a vowel? Observe अधुक्षत्, अधुक्षताम् ॥ Why do we say क्स and not only स? So that the elision should not take place here, as वत्सौ, वत्साः, वस्सौ, वस्साः, तृणसौ, तृणसः ॥

लुग्वा दुहदिहलिहगुहामात्मनेपदे दन्त्ये ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ लुक्, वा, दुह, दिह, लिह, गुहाम्, आत्मनेपदे, दन्त्ये, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दुह दिह लिह गुह इत्येतेषामात्मनेपदे दन्त्यादौ परतः क्सस्य वा लुग्भवति ॥

73. The whole of the affix क्स is elided optionally before the personal endings of the Atmanepada beginning with a dental, after दुह्, दिह्, लिह् and गुह् ॥

As अदुग्ध or अधुक्षत, अदुग्धाः or अधुक्षथाः, अदुग्ध्वम् or अधुक्षध्वम्, अदुह्वहि or अधुक्षावहि, अदिग्ध or अधिक्षत, अलीढ or अलिक्षत, न्यगुढ or न्यघुक्षत ॥

Why दुह् &c. only? Observe व्यत्यरुक्षत ॥ Why in the Atmanepada? Observe अधुक्षत only. Why before an affix beginning with a dental? Observe अधुक्षामहि only. Though the anuvṛitti of लोप was understood in this sûtra; the employment of the term लुक् indicates that the *whole* of the affix is to be elided. For लोप would have elided only the final अ of स ॥ But even with the elision of अ alone we would have got all the above forms, except those in वहि ॥ For अ being elided, we have स् between ह् (a consonant of झल् class) and a dental (which is also a letter of झल् class). This स् situate between two झल् will be elided by VIII. 2. 26. Nor can it be objected that the elided अ is sthânivat, for by पूर्वत्रासिद्धं VIII. 2. 1, such an elision cannot be sthânivat. Though व् is a dento-labial, yet it is included in the word dental. Had it not been meant to be so included, तो (letters of त class) would have been taken in the sûtra. See III. 1. 45, for this Aorist-affix.

शमामष्टानां दीर्घः श्यनि ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ शमाम्, अष्टानाम्, दीर्घः, श्यनि, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शमादीनामष्टानां दीर्घो भवति श्यनि परतः ॥

74. Before the Present character श्यन्, a long is substituted for the root-vowel in शम् and the seven roots that follow it.

As शाम्यति, ताम्यति, दाम्यति, श्राम्यति, भ्राम्यति, क्षाम्यति क्लाम्यति and माद्यति ॥ Why of these eight only? Observe अस्यति ॥ Why before श्यन्? Observe भ्रमति; the श्यन् being optional after this root by III. 1. 70.

ष्ठिवुक्लम्याचमां शिति ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ ष्ठिवु, क्लमु, आचमाम्, शिति, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दीर्घ इति वर्तते ॥ ष्ठिवु क्लमु आचम इत्येतेषां दीर्घो भवति शिति परतः ॥

75. Before any other Present character (शित्), the root vowel of ष्ठिव्, क्लम्, and आ-चम् is lengthened.

As ष्ठीवति, क्लामति, and आ चामति ॥ क्लम् lengthens its vowel before श्यन् by the last rule, the present rule produces this change before the affix शप् also, which it gets by III. 1. 70. चम् lengthens its vowel only when it is preceded by आ; therefore not here: चमति, विचमति or उच्चमति ॥ The sûtra is exhibited as ष्ठिवुक्लमु चमां शिति in the original text of Pâṇini; the present form, owes its existence to the insertion of आ from the vârtika दीर्घत्वमाङि चमः ॥

क्रमः परस्मैपदेषु ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्रमः, परस्मैपदेषु, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दीर्घ इति वर्तते ॥ क्रमः परस्मैपदपरे शिति परतो दीर्घो भवति ॥

76. The long is substituted in क्रम्, before a शित् affix, in the Parasmaipada.

As क्रामति, क्रामतः, क्रामन्ति ॥ Why in the Parasmaipada? Observe आक्रमते आदित्यः ॥ How do you explain the lengthening in उत्क्राम and संक्राम (Imperative 2nd Per. Sg.)? For when हि is elided by लुक्, (VI. 4. 105) then by I. 1. 63, the affix being dropped by a लु-elision, it would produce no effect and so there ought to have been no lengthening? This is no valid objection. The prohibition of I. 1. 63, applies to the अङ्ग *stem* after which the affix is elided. Here क्रम् is not a stem or aṅga with regard to हि, but it is a *stem* with regard to शप्, as क्रम + शप् + हि ॥ Therefore, though हि is elided, the lengthening will take place by I. 1. 62, (प्रत्यय लक्षणम्) ॥

इषुगमियमां छः ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ इषु, गमि, यमाम्, छः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शितीति वर्तते ॥ इषु गमि यम इत्येतेषां शिति प्रत्यये परतश्छकारादेशो भवति ॥

77. छ is substituted for the final of इष्, गम् and यम् before a Present-character (शित्) ॥

As इच्छति, गच्छति, यच्छति ॥ The इष् with the indicatory उ is taken here, (Tud. 59), and not इष् of Divâdi (19) class or of Kryâdi class (53). There we have इष्यति and इष्णाति respectively. Those who do not read the sûtra as इषु &c, but as इषगमि &c, read the anuvṛitti of the word अचि from VII. 3. 72 into this sûtra; so that the शित् is qualified by the word अच्, i. e. a शित् affix which is merely a vowel, and has no consonant in it; (and not a शित् affix which *begins* with a vowel). Therefore though शानच् is a शित् affix beginning with a vowel, yet as it contains a consonant, the छ substitution does not take place, as इषाणः (III. 1. 83) The reading of the text according to Patanjali and Kâtyayana is इषगमियमां छ, and hence the necessity of the above explanation. The reading इषु, though convenient, is not ârsha.

पाघ्राध्मास्थाम्नादाण्दृश्यर्तिसर्तिशदसदां पिबजिघ्रधमतिष्ठमनयच्छपश्यर्छधौशीयसीदाः ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पा, घ्रा, ध्मा, स्था, म्ना, दाण्, दृशि, अर्त्ति, सर्त्ति, शद्, सदाम्, पिब, जिघ्र, धम, तिष्ठ, मन, यच्छ, पश्य, ऋच्छ, धौ, शीय, सीदाः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पा घ्रा ध्मा स्था म्ना दाण् दृशि अर्ति सर्ति शद सद इत्येतेषां पिब जिघ्र धम तिष्ठ मन यच्छ पश्य ऋच्छ धौ शीय सीद इत्येते आदेशा भवन्ति शिति परतः ॥

78. Before a Present-character (शित्), the following substitutions take place :—पिब् for पा, जिघ्र् for घ्रा, धम् for ध्मा, तिष्ठ् for स्था, मन् for म्ना, यच्छ् for दा (दाण्), पश्य् for दृश्, ऋच्छ् for ऋ, धौ for सृ, शीय् for शद् and सीद् for सद् ॥

As पिबति, जिघ्रति, धमति, तिष्ठति, मनति, यच्छति, पश्यति, ऋच्छति, धावति, शीयते and सीदति ॥ पिब् + शप् + तिप् required Guṇa of the इ of पि by VII. 3. 86, it however does not take place on the maxim अङ्गवृत्ते पुनर्वृत्तावविधिः "when an operation which is taught in the angâdhikâra, has taken place, and another operation of the angâdhikâra is subsequently applicable, this latter operation is not allowed to take place". Or the substitute पिब is one which ends with अ, and is acutely accented on the first. It must be acutely accented on the first; otherwise by VI. 1. 162, the acute will be on the last पिबँ ॥ Then when there is ekâdeśa with शप्, the acute will be on the middle in पिबति, which is not desired. धौ is substituted for सृ when the sense is 'to run, move quickly'; in any other sense, we have प्रसरति, अनुसरति ॥

ज्ञाजनोर्जा ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ ज्ञा, जनोः, जा, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ज्ञा जन इत्येतयोर्जादेशो भवति शिति परतः ॥

79. Before a शित् affix, जा is substituted for ज्ञा and जन् ॥

As जानाति and जायते ॥ The जन here belongs to Divâdi class, meaning 'to be produced', and not जन् of the Juhotyâdi class. Why जा (long) and not ज, for this ज would assume the form जा by VII. 3. 101? This long आ of जा indicates the existence of the maxim given above in VII. 3. 78; and had ज been the substitute, VII. 3. 101, could not have lengthened it.

प्वादीनां ह्रस्वः ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ पू, आदीनाम्, ह्रस्वः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पू इत्येवमादीनां ह्रस्वो भवति शिति परतः ॥

80. A short is substituted for पू &c, before a शित् affix.

The Pvâdi roots form a subdivision of the Kryâdi class, beginning with पूञ् पवने (2) and ending with प्ली गतौ (32). The ल्वादि roots (VIII. 2. 44) are a portion of प्वादि (nos 13 to 32). Others hold that upto the end of the Kryâdi class are Pvâdi. Thus पुनाति, लुनाति, स्तृणाति ॥ Those who hold that Pvâdi roots are upto the end of the Class, explain the non-shortening of जानाति (for ज्ञा would also then become Pvâdi), by saying that the express

text of VII. 3. 79, substituting long आ prevents the shortening. They say had ज्ञा been also shortened, then merely अ substitute would have been enough and not आ; and this अ would have been lengthened in the case of जन् by VII. 3. 101, to form जायते ॥

मीनातेर्निगमे ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ मीनातेः, निगमे, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मीनातेरुपधाया ह्रस्वः शिति प्रत्यये परतो ह्रस्वो भवति निगमविषये ॥

81. In the Veda मी is shortened before a शित् affix.

As प्रमिनन्ति व्रतानि Rig. X. 10. 5. The न becomes ण (प्रमिणन्ति according to Kâśika) by VIII. 4. 15. Why in the Veda? Observe प्र मीणाति ॥

मिदेर्गुणः ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ मिदेः, गुणः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मिदेरुपधाया इको गुणो भवति शिति प्रत्यये परतः ॥

82. For इ in मिद्, there is substituted a guṇa before a शित् affix.

As मेद्यति, मेद्यतः, मेद्यन्ति ॥ Why मिद् only? Observe स्विद्यन्ति, क्लिद्यन्ति ॥ The root ञिमिदा belongs both to the Bhvâdi and the Divâdi classes. The Bhvâdi मिद् will get guṇa before शप by virtue of VII. 3. 86, but the Divâdi मिद् would not have got guṇa before श्यन्, as this affix is ङित् (I. 2. 4): hence the necessity of this sûtra. Before non शित् affixes there is no guṇa, as मिद्यते, मेमिद्यते ॥

जुसि च ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ जुसि, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जुसि च प्रत्यये परत इगन्तस्याङ्गस्य गुणो भवति ॥

83. Before the personal-ending जुस् (उस्) of the Imperfect, guṇa is substituted for the final इ, ई, उ, ऊ, ऋ, and ॠ, ऌ of the stem.

As अजुहवुः, अबिभयुः, अबिभरुः, अजागरुः ॥ This Personal ending is ङित् according to I. 2. 4, and would not have caused guṇa (I. 1. 5), but for this sûtra. The ending जुस (III. 4. 108) comes in the लिङ् also. There, however, it does not cause guṇa. As चिनुयुः, सुनुयुः ॥ Here there are two ङित् affixes, the augment यासुट्, and the sârvadhâtuka जुस्; and the यासुट् prevents guṇa. The इक् is read into the sûtra from I. 1. 3.

सार्वधातुकार्धधातुकयोः ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ सार्वधातुक, आर्धधातुकयोः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सार्वधातुके आर्धधातुके च प्रत्यये परत इगन्तस्याङ्गस्य गुणो भवति ॥

84. The Guṇa is substituted for the final इक् vowel of a stem before the affixes called sârvadhâtuka and ârdhadhâtuka (III. 4. 113 &c).

As तरति, नयति, भवति ; कर्तृ, चेतृ, स्तोतृ, ॥ Why sârvadhâtuka and ârdhadhâtuka affixes only ? Observe अग्निस्यम् अग्निकाम्यति ॥ For had the sûtra been सर्वि then the rule would have applied to affixes like सन् काम्यच &c which go to form Denominative verbs. सङ् includes all affixes beginning with सन and ending with महिङ् ॥ If the sûtra had been प्रत्यंय, then the rule would have applied to the affixes like स्यम् &c. To exclude these cases, the two words sârvadhâtuka and ârdhadhâtuka are used. For exceptions See I. 1. 4, 5, 6.

जाग्रोऽविचिण्णल्ङित्सु ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ जाग्रः, अ, विच्, चिण्, णल्, ङित्सु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जागृ इत्येतस्याङ्गस्य गुणो भवति अविचिण्णल्ङित्सु परतः ॥

85. The Guṇa is substituted for the ऋ of the stem जागृ, except before the affix वि, before the Aorist-character चिण्, before the Personal ending, णल् of the Perfect, and before an affix with an indicatory ङ् ॥

As जागरयति, with णिच्, जागरकः (with ण्वुल) साधुजागरी, जागरं जागरम् (with णमुल्) जागरो वर्तते (with घञ्), जागरितः (with क्त), जागरितवान् (with क्तवतु) ॥ This is an exception to the Vṛiddhi rule of VII. 2. 115, and to the prohibition in I. 1. 5. When this guṇa is substituted, there does not take effect that rule, which causes Vṛiddhi of the penultimate short अ of जागर; (अत उपधायाः VII. 2. 116). Had that been the case, then the guṇa substitution would become simply useless, and the prohibition with regard to चिण and णल superfluous. Why do we say not before वि, चिण and णल and ङित् ? Observe जागृविः (with the affix क्विन् Uṇâdi) अजागारि with चिण् which causes Vṛiddhi, and अजागार with णल्, and जागृतः and जागृयः with a ङित् (I. 2. 4) affix. Some hold that the इ in वि is for the sake of pronunciation only, and the prohibition applies to all affixes beginning with a व, such as क्वसु, as जजागृवान्, here there is no guṇa. In अजागरुः with जुस the guṇa takes place by virtue of VII. 3. 83: for though it is a ङित् affix also, the prohibition ङित्सु of this sûtra does not affect it. Similarly अहं जजागर with णल् the optional guṇa VII. 1. 91 is also not prohibited by the णल् of this sûtra. In fact the phrase अविचिण् णल् ङित्सु is a Paryudâsa prohibition : for had it been a prasayya-pratishedha, then the guṇa before जुस् and the 1st Pers. णल् would also have been prohibited. In short this sûtra positively ordains guṇa of जागृ before every affix, other than वि, चिण्, णल् and ङित्, and if by any other rule these latter would cause guṇa, that guṇa is not *prohibited*. That is the result of Paryudâsa negation.

But if the sûtra be construed as a Prasayyapratishedha, then we shall apply the maxim अनन्तरस्य विधिर्वा भवति प्रतिषेधो वा ॥ The prohibition is therefore stated with regard to जाग in connection with the affixes वि, चिण्, णल् and ङित् ॥ But the Guṇa ordained by VII. 3. 84, 83 is not prohibited.

पुगन्तलघूपधस्य च ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुक् अन्त, लघु उपधस्य, च, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ पुगन्तस्याङ्गस्य लघूपधस्य च सार्वधातुकार्धधातुकयोर्गुणो भवति ॥

Kârikâ:—संयोगे गुरुसंज्ञायां गुणो भेत्तुर्न सिध्यति ।
विध्यपेक्षं लघोर्भासो कथं कुण्डिर्न दुष्यति ॥
धातोरित्वनुमं कथं रञ्जेः, स्यदिश्रथ्योर्निपातनात् ।
अनमोपधिलोपे विध्यपेक्षे न सिध्यतः ॥
अभ्यस्तस्य यदा हाथि लघ्वर्थे तत्कृतं भवेत् ।
नुगनो यत्कृतं कित्वं ज्ञापकं स्याल्लघोर्गुणे ॥

86. Guṇa is substituted before a sârvadhâtuka and an ârdhadhâtuka affix, for the इक् vowels of the Causative stems which take the augment पुक् (VII. 3. 36), and for the short penultimate vowel of a root which ends in a single consonant.

As क्लेपयति, ह्रेपयति, क्नोपयति, भेदनम्, छेदनम्, भेत्ता, छेत्ता ॥ Of course the vowel should be laghu or light, before the addition of the affix; the heaviness caused by the addition of the affix, will not prevent guṇa. Thus भिद् + तृ, though द् + तृ = त्तृ causes the इ to become heavy, that will not prevent guṇa: for विध्यपेक्षं लघु ग्रहणम् ॥ Obj: If this be so, why the forms कुण्डितृ, हुण्डितृ are not incorrect, for in them also the vowel is laghu (the roots are कुडि and हुडि), and the augment नुम् is added afterwards by a Vidhi rule? Ans. The augment नुम् is added to the *root*, and becomes upadeśivat. (See VII. 1. 58). Obj. If so, how do you cause Vṛiddhi in रञ्ज्, as in रागः with घञ्; as रञ्ज् + घञ् = रज् + घञ् (the ञ् being dropped by VI. 4. 27), for it is *after* the elision of ञ्, that the अ of रज becomes penultimate and can admit of Vṛiddhi by VII. 2. 116? Ans. The exceptional forms स्यदः from स्यन्द् + घञ्, and श्रथः from श्रन्थ + घञ्, taught in VI. 4. 28, 29 teach by implication that roots of this form take Vṛiddhi as a *general* rule. Obj. If the विध्यपेक्ष maxim is not of universal application: though by VI. 4. 134, the अ of अन् &c. is elided in bha stems, like राजन् thus राज्ञः; yet the अ shoud not be elided if you be consistent, in अनङ् augment added by VII. 1. 75 to दधि, अस्थि &c. In fact, you could not get the forms दध्ना सक्थ्ना &c. Moreover though there can be the lengthening of the penultimate in सामन्—सामानि (before शि affix Nom. Pl). yet not in the case of कुण्डानि from कुण्ड for here न् is added by another rule VII. 1. 72. If you say, the maxim is not of universal application, then there can be no guṇa of इ in भिद् to form भेत्तृ ॥ Ans. The guṇa takes place in forms like भेत्तृ &c, because the prohibition of the following rule VII. 3. 87, with regard to the affixes beginning with a *vowel*, proves by implication that before affixes beginning with a consonant, as तृ, the guṇa also takes place. Obj. The prohibiton in the case of vowel beginning affixes is for the sake of लङ्, to form अनेनेक् ॥ This is derived from णिजिर् (Juhotyadi 11), in the Imperfect, as अट् + निज् + शप्लु, + तिप् then reduplication (VI. 1. 10), then guṇa of the redupli-

cate, (VII. 4. 75), then लप which had become नू in the Imperfect, is elided by VI. 1. 68. Thus अनिज्+श्लु+त्=अ+निनिज्+त् (VI. 1. 10)=अ नेनिज्+त् (VII. 4. 75)=अ नेनज् (VI. 1. 98)=अननक्. The elided त् produces its effect, the guna by VII. 3. 86. This is why अच is taken in sûtra VII. 3. 87, namely अजादि affixes do not cause guna, the हलादि affixes like त् cause guna. You cannot therefore say that अचि in VII. 3. 87 is a jñâpaka. Ans. The sûtra त्रसिगृधिधृषिक्षिपेः क्नुः (III. 2. 140) teaches the addition of नु to त्रस &c, as गृध्नुः; if this नु had not tended to cause the guna of the penultimate vowels of these roots, what was the necessity of making this affix a कित्? Similarly I. 2. 10 teaches that सन् (Desiderative) is कित् after roots ending in consonants. These rules show that words like भत &c get guna, and the final consonant of the root plus the initial consonant of the affix, does not make the root vowel heavy. Obj: The कित् of सन् is for the sake of the elision of the nasal, in धिप्सति, धाप्सति (VI. 4. 24). Ans. Let it be so: still the कित् of क्नु is enough for us.

The "upadhâ short" must be the vowels of the इक् pratyâhâra. Therefore in भिनत्ति, the penultimate is short अ (of श्नम्) and it does not take guna. In fact, the word penultimate qualifies the word इक् understood. Others explain it by saying that पुगन्त is to be analysed by पुकि अन्त "in the vicinity of प्" ॥ The word अन्त means समीप, and means the इक vowel in the *proximity* of पुक् ॥ The word लघूपधा should be analysed as लघ्वी उपधा and is a Karmadhâraya compound, and means "a short or light penultimate". The word पुगन्तलघूपध is a Samâhara Dvandva.

नाभ्यस्तस्याचि पिति सार्वधातुके ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, अभ्यस्तस्य, अचि, पिति, सार्वधातुके ॥

वृत्ति ॥ अभ्यस्तसंज्ञकस्याङ्गस्य लघूपधस्याजादौ पिति सार्वधातुके गुणो न भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ बहुलं छन्दसीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

87. The guna is not substituted for the penultimate light इक् vowel in the reduplicated form of a root, before a Sârvadhâtuka affix beginning with a vowel and having an indicatory प् ॥

As नेनिजानि, अनेनिजम्; परि वेविषाणि, पर्यवेविषम् ॥ Why of a reduplicated root? Observe वेदानि ॥ Why beginning with a vowel? Observe नेनेक्ति ॥ The word पित् is read here for the sake of the subsequent sûtras like VII. 3. 92. For here in cases other than पित्, guna will be prevented by ङित् because of सार्वधातुकमपित् ॥ Why a sârvadhâtuka affix? Observe निनेज in the Perfect, the affixes of which are ârdhadhâtuka (III. 4. 115). Why do we say a penultimate light vowel? Observe जुहवानि, अजुहवम् ॥

Vârt:—There is diversity in the Vedas. As जुजोषत् the लेट् of जुष ॥

The forms पस्पशाते, चाकशीति, वावशीती: are irregular. स्पृश्+लेट्=स्पृश्+आट्+ते=स्पृश्+शपश्लु+आते=पस्पशाते ॥

The above forms are thus evolved. 1. मे निभानि is लोट (Imperative 1st Per Sing). the मि is changed to नि, the augment आट is added which is पित् (आडुत्तमस्य पिच्च III. 4. 92), भृञ् is substituted for शप्, then there is reduplication, then guṇa by VII. 4. 75. 2. अनानजम् is लङ, the मिप is changed to अम् ॥ 3. वहानि is 1st Pers. Sing. Imperative of वह् ॥ 4. ननाक्त is 3rd Person singular of the Present. 5. ननज is the Perfect with णल which is ârdhâdhtuka III. 4. 115. 6. जुजोषत् is the लट of जुषी प्रीतिसेवनयोः (Tudâdi 8), in the Parasmaipada, the इ of तिप is elided (III. 4. 97), then is added the augment अट् (III. 4. 94) then शप् is irregularly replaced by श्लु, then reduplication.

In the words चल्चशति &c. the reduplicate has been shortened, as a Vedic form, in the Intensive यङ् लुक् ॥ चाकशीति is from काशृ दीप्तौ there is (यङ् लुक्, लट्, तिप्, and इट् augment by यङो वा (VII. 3. 94). वावशीतीः is from वाशृ शब्दे, in the Intensive (यङ्लुक्), लट, शतृ, ङीप and शस i. e. it is the Accusative plural of the Feminine Present Participle from the Intensive root of वाशृ ॥ The reading in the Kâsikâ is वावशाते ॥ In these two काशृ and वाशृ the roots have been shortened. Or the above forms may be derived regularly, without shortening, from the roots कशृ and वशृ ॥

भूसुवोस्तिङि ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ भू, सुवोः, तिङि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भू सू इत्येतयोस्तिङि सार्वधातुके गुणो न भवति ॥

88. भू and सू get no guṇa before an immediately following Personal ending which is Sârvadhâtuka.

As अभूत्, अभूः, अभूवम्; सुवै, सुवावहै, सुवामहै ॥ The सू refers to the Adâdi root (21) in which the Present character is dropped, and does not refer to Divâdi (24) or Tudâdi (115) roots, because there the Present character श्यन् and श *intervene* between the Personal endings (तिङ्) and the root: and moreover the affixes श्यन् and श are ङित् (I. 2. 4) and would not cause guṇa. Why do we say before तिङ् ? Observe भवति where the guṇa takes place before शप् ॥ Why before a sârvadhâtuka affix? Observe भूयात् भविषीष्ट, where the Benedictive is not a Sârvadhâtuka (III. 4. 116), and the augment is of course considered as a portion of the personal ending. Why the guṇa is not prohibited in बोभवीति when the Intensive यङ् is dropped, and the Personal ending is added directly to the root. Because the form बोभूतु in VII. 4. 65 indicates by implication that guṇa takes place in यङ्लुक् except in बोभूतु ॥

But of सू we have सोषुवीति where guṇa has been prohibited in the Intensive, because there is no jñâpaka with regard to it.

The forms सुवै &c are the 1st Per. Imperative of सू ॥

उतो वृद्धिर्लुकि हलि ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ उतः, वृद्धिः, लुकि, हलि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सार्वधातुके पितीति वर्त्तते ॥ उकारान्तस्याङ्गस्य वृद्धिर्भवति लुकि सति हलादौ पिति सार्वधातुके ॥

89. A root ending in short उ, which has no Present

characteristic (i. e. the vikaraṇa is dropped by luk elision), gets vṛiddhi, before a पित् Sârvadhâtuka affix beginning with a consonant, but not if the stem is reduplicated.

Thus यौति, यौषि, यौमि ; नौति, नौषि, नौमि, स्तौति, स्तौषि, स्तौमि ॥ Why ending in उ ? Observe एति, एषि, एमि ॥ Why do we say whose vikaraṇa is elided by लुक ? Observe सुनोति, सुनोषि, सुनोमि ॥ Why beginning with a हल्? Observe यवानि, रवाणि, the First Person of the Imperative is पित् by III. 4. 92. Why before a पित् affix ? Observe युतः, रुतः ॥ The augment यासुट् being ङित् (III. 4. 103), prevents पित् action in आपि स्तुयात् राजानम् ॥ The phrase नाभ्यस्तस्य should be read into the sûtra from VII. 3. 87: therefore Vṛiddhi does not take place here योयोति नोनोति ॥ Here there is luk-elision of यङ् ॥

ऊर्णोतेर्विभाषा ॥ ९० ॥ पदानि ॥ ऊर्णोतेः, विभाषा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऊर्णोतेर्विभाषा वृद्धिर्भवति हलादौ पिति सार्वधातुके ॥

90. Before a पित् Sârvadhâtuka affix beginning with a consonant, the final उ of ऊर्णु gets optionally vṛiddhi.

As प्रोर्णोति or प्रोर्णौति, प्रोर्णोषि or प्रोर्णौषि, प्रोर्णोमि or प्रोर्णौमि ; but प्रोर्णवानि before an affix beginning with a vowel.

गुणोऽपृक्ते ॥ ९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ गुणः, अपृक्ते ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऊर्णोतेर्हलादावपृक्ते हलि पिति सार्वधातुके गुणो भवति ॥

91. Before a पित् Sârvadhâtuka affix which is a single consonant, Guṇa is substituted for the final of ऊर्णु ॥

As प्रोर्णोत्, प्रोर्णोः ॥ Though the anuvṛitti of हलि was understood in this sûtra from the last aphorism, the employment of the term अपृक्त implies the existence of the following maxim :—यस्मिन् विधि स्तदादावल् ग्रहणे "when a term which denotes a letter is exhibited in a rule, in the form of a Locative case, and qualifies something else which likewise stands in the Locative case, that which is qualified by it must be regarded as beginning with the letter which is denoted by the term in question, and not as ending with it".

तृणह इम् ॥ ९२ ॥ पदानि ॥ तृणहः, इम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तृणह इत्येतस्याङ्गस्य इमागमो भवति हलि पिति सार्वधातुके ॥

92. Before a पित् Sârvadhâtuka affix beginning with a consonant, इ is added after अ of the verbal stem तृणह् ॥

As तृणेढि, तृणेक्षि, तृणेह्मि, अतृणेट् ॥ In the last example though the affix vanishes altogether, yet it produces its effect. Why beginning with a consonant? Observe तृणहानि ॥ Why a पित् affix ? Observe तृण्ढः with तस् ॥ The stem तृणह is formed from the root तृह् (Rudhâdi) with the vikaraṇa श्नम्, and is so exhibited in the sûtra in order to indicate that the augment इम् is added *after* the vikaraṇa श्नम् has been added, and that the root तृह of Tudâdi class is not to be taken.

The above forms are thus derived :—

तृह् + श्नम् + तिप् = तृणह् + इम् + ति = तृणइह् + ति = तृणेह् + ति (VI. 1. 87) = तृणेढ् + ति (VIII. 2. 31) = तृणेढ् + धि (VIII. 2 40) = तृणेढ् + ढि (VIII. 4. 41) = तृणेढि with the elision of one ढ (VIII. 3. 13). The form तृणेक्षि is similarly formed by VIII. 2. 41, the ढ् being changed to क before सि of सिप् ॥ अतृणेट् is the लङ् 2nd and 3rd Per. Sing.

ब्रुव ईट् ॥ ९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ब्रुवः, ईट् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ब्रु इत्येतस्मादुत्तरस्य हलादेः पितः सार्वधातुकस्य ईडागमो भवति ॥

93. Before a पित् Sârvadhâtuka affix beginning with a consonant, the augment इट् is placed after ब्रू ॥

As ब्रवीति, ब्रवीषि, ब्रवीमि, अब्रवीत् ॥ But ब्रवाणि before such an affix beginning with a vowel, and ब्रूतः before an affix which is not पित् ॥

यङो वा ॥ ९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ यङः, वा, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यङ उत्तरस्य हलादेः पितः सार्वधातुकस्य ईडागमो भवति वा ॥

94. The पित् Sârvadhâtuka affixes, beginning with a consonant, optionally get the augment इट् in the Intensive.

As लालपीति in शाकुनिको लालपीति, so also दुन्दुभिर्वावदीति, त्रिधाबद्धो वृषभो रोरवीति महादेवोमर्त्यां आविवेश ॥ (Rig. IV. 58. 3). Also not, as वर्वर्ति चक्रम् and वर्वर्मि ॥ These are all examples of the Intensive with the elision of यङ् ॥ When the stem retains यङ्, there can be no पित् Sârvadhâtuka affix beginning with a consonant after it, because then शप् will intervene between the affix and the stem. Hence no examples of the same can be given.

तुरुस्तुशम्यमः सार्वधातुके ॥ ९५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तु, रु, स्तु, शमि, अमः, सार्वधातुके ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तु इति सौत्रोयं धातुः, रु शब्दे ष्टुञ् स्तुतौ शम उपशमे अम गत्यादिषु इत्येतेभ्यः परस्य सार्वधातुकस्य हलादेर्वा इडागमो भवति ।

95. A sârvadhâtuka affix, beginning with a consonant, optionally gets ईट् augment, after the roots तु, रु, स्तु, शम् and अम् ॥

The root तु (Adâdi 25) means 'to increase', रु (Adâdi 24) 'to make a sound', स्तु (Adâdi 34) 'to praise', शम् 'to be satisfied', and अम् 'to go'. According to Kâśikâ तु is a Sautra dhâtu. Thus उत्तौति or उत्तवीति, उपरौति or उपरवीति, उपस्तौति or उपस्तवीति, शाम्यध्वम् or शमीध्वम्, अभ्यमति or अभ्यमीति ॥ शम् and अम् can then be followed by a consonant beginning sârvadhatuka affix, when they lose their Present character (vikaraṇa) as a Vedic anomaly (bahulam chhandasi).

The Apiśalâs read the sûtra as तुरुस्तुशम्यमः सार्वधातुकासुच्छन्दसि ॥ This will then become a विधि rule for the Vedic forms. The word सार्वधातुका is here exhibited in the feminine.

The repetition of 'sârvadhâtuka', though its anuvṛitti was present is for the sake of stopping the anuvṛitti of पित्, and this rule applies to आपित् affixes also, as सुवीत, शमाध्वम् ॥

अस्तिसिचोऽपृक्ते ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अस्ति, सिचः, अ, पृक्ते ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अस्तेरकारात् सिजन्ताच्च परस्यापृक्तस्य सार्वधातुकस्य ईडागमो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ आहिभुवोरीटि प्रतिषेधः ॥

96. A single consonantal sârvadhâtuka affix gets the augment ईट्, after अस् (अस्ति) and after the Aorist character सिच् ॥

As आसीत्, आसीः ; अकार्षीत्, असावीत् ॥ Why do we say a single-consonant affix? Observe आस्त, अकार्षम् ॥

Vârt:—Prohibition of the sthânivad-bhâva must be stated when आह् is substituted for ब्रू (III. 4. 84), and भू for अस् (II. 4. 52), before the augment ईट् ॥ Therefore not here आत्थ and अभूत् ॥ The word आत्थ is thus formed. आह्+सिप्=आह्+थल् (III. 4. 84)=आथ्+थ (VIII. 2. 35)=आत्+थ (VIII. 4. 55) =आत्थ ॥

बहुलं छन्दसि ॥ ९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुलम्, छन्दसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अस्तिसिचोरपृक्तस्य सार्वधातुकस्य ईडागमो भवति बहुलं छन्दसि विषये ॥

97. In the Veda, a single consonantal Sârvadhâtuka affix gets diversely the augment ईट्, after अस् and सिच् ॥

As आप एवेदं सलिलं सर्वमाः ॥ Here आः is used instead of आसीत् ; but also अहंवासीम्न राधिः (See Maitr. S. I. 5. 12). So also with s-Aorist, as गोभिरक्षाः (Rig IX. 107. 9), प्रत्यञ्चमत्साः (Rig X. 28. 4). And मा॑वीर्मा पुत्रक, the अट् is not elided though मा is added (VI. 4. 75). अक्षाः and अत्साः are examples of सिच् without ईट्. Compare VIII. 2. 73.

The word आः is the लङ् of अस्, there is added सिप्, then शप् is elided, then स् is changed to रु, and it is turned to visarjaniya. The words अक्षाः and अत्साः are derived from the roots क्षर् (सञ्चलने) and त्सर् (छद्मगतौ), in the Aorist, the सिप् is elided (VI. 1. 68), the सिच् is elided by VIII. 2. 24, and the र् of the roots is changed to visarga. The augment ईट् is not added as a Vedic irregularity.

रुदश्च पञ्चभ्यः ॥ ९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ रुदः, च, पञ्चभ्यः ॥

वृत्ति ॥ रुदादिभ्यः परस्य सार्वधातुकस्य हलादेरपृक्तस्य ईडागमो भवति ॥

98. After रुद् and the four roots that follow it, comes the augment ईट् to a sârvadhâtuka affix consisting of a single consonant.

As अरोदीत्, अरोदीः, अस्वपीत् and अस्वपीः, अश्वसीत्, अश्वसीः, प्राणीत्, प्राणीः, अजक्षीत्, अजक्षीः ॥ Why of these five only? Observe अजागर्, भवान् ॥ Why an apṛikta affix? Observe रोदिति ॥ The word रुदः is singular, though it ought to have been plural.

अड्गार्ग्यगालवयोः ॥ ९९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अट्, गार्ग्य, गालवयोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रुदादिभ्यः पञ्चभ्यः परस्य अपृक्तस्य सार्वधातुकस्याडागमो भवति गार्ग्यगालवयोर्मतेन ॥

99. According to the opinon of Gârgya, and Gâlâva, the augment अट् comes before a Sârvadhâtuka affix consisting of a single consonant, after the above five roots रुद् &c.

As अरोदत्, अरोदः, अस्वपत्, अस्वपः, अश्वसत् अश्वसः, प्राणत् प्राणः, अजक्षत्, अजक्षः ॥ The names of Gârgya and Gâlava are mentioned for honoris causa.

The mention of these names is not for the sake of "option" (विकल्पार्थम्). Because the very injunction about अट्, would make the ईट् of the preceding sûtra optional. The mention of more than one Achârya in the sûtra is also for this very reason.

अदः सर्वेषाम् ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ अदः, सर्वेषाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अद भक्षणे अस्मादुत्तरस्यापृक्तस्य सार्वधातुकस्याडागमो भवति सर्वेषामाचार्याणां मतेन ॥

100. After अद् 'to eat', comes the augment अट् before a Sârvadhâtuka affix consisting of a single consonant, according to the opinion of all grammarians.

As आदत् and आदः ॥ Before a non-aprikta we have अत्ति, अत्सि ॥ The word सर्वेषाम् makes it a necessary rule and not optional, like the last.

अतो दीर्घो यञि ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अतः, दीर्घः, यञि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अकारान्तस्याङ्गस्य दीर्घो भवति यञादौ सार्वधातुके परतः ॥

101. The long आ is substituted for the final अ of a Tense-stem, before a Sârvadhâtuka affix beginning with य or म (lit.a consonant of यञ् pratyâhâra).

As पचामि, पचावः, पचामः, पक्ष्यामि, पक्ष्यावः, पक्ष्यामः ॥ Why 'for the अ only'? Observe चिनुवः, चिनुमः ॥ Why before a यञ् consonant (semivowels, nasals and झ and भ) only? Observe पचतः, पचथः ॥ Why a 'Sârvadhâtuka'? Observe आङ्गना, केशवः ॥ Some read the anuvṛitti of तिङ् into this sûtra, from VII. 3. 88 so that the lengthening takes place only before Personal-endings. According to them before क्वसु there is no lengthening, as भववान् ॥

The word भववान् is thus formed. To भू is added क्वसु, then comes शप्, treating kvasu as a sârvadhâtuka under III. 4. 117; the reduplication of the root ending in शप् is prevented, because the word dhâtu is used in VI. 1. 8 which ordains reduplication of a *root* only, and not of a root plus a vikaraṇa like the form भव (भू+शप्) ॥ Those who do not read the anuvṛitti of तिङ् in this sûtra, but only of the word सार्वधातुके, they explain the form भववान् as a Vedic anomaly.

सुपि च ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुपि, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अतो दीर्घो यञीत्यनुवर्तते । सुपि च यञादौ परतो ऽकारान्तस्याङ्गस्य दीर्घो भवति ॥

102. Before a case-ending beginning with य or भ (lit a consonant of यञ् Pratyâhâra), the final अ of a Nominal-stem is also lengthened.

The whole of the phrase अतो दीर्घो यञि is understood here. Thus वृक्षाय, प्लक्षाय, वृक्षाभ्याम्, प्लक्षाभ्याम् ॥ But अग्निभ्याम् where the stem ends in इ, and वृक्षस्य प्लक्षस्य where the affix does not begin with a यञ consonant.

बहुवचने झल्येत् ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुवचने, झलि, एत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बहुवचने झलादौ सुपि परतो ऽकारान्तस्याङ्गस्य एकारादेशो भवति ॥

103. Before a case-ending beginning with भ् or स् (lit. a झल् consonant), in the Plural, ए is substituted for the final अ of a Nominal-stem.

As वृक्षेभ्यः, प्लक्षेभ्यः, वृक्षेषु, प्लक्षेषु ॥ Why in the Plural? Observe वृक्षाभ्याम् प्लक्षाभ्याम् ॥ Why before a case-affix beginning with a झल् consonant? Observe वृक्षाणाम् (the lengthening here is by VI. 4. 3). Why a case-affix? Observe यजध्वम्, पचध्वम् ॥

ओसि च ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ ओसि, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ओसि परतोऽकारान्तस्याङ्गस्य एकारादेशो भवति ॥

104. Before the case-ending ओस्, ए is substituted for the final अ of a Nominal-stem.

As वृक्षयोः (Gen. dual) स्वं, प्लक्षयोः स्वम्, वृक्षयोः (Loc. dual) as वृक्षयोर्निधेहि, प्लक्षयोर्निधेहि ॥

आङि चापः ॥ १०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आङि, च, आपः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आङिति पूर्वाचार्यनिर्देशेन तृतीयैकवचनं गृह्यते । तस्मिन्नाङि परतश्चकारादोसि च आबन्तस्याङ्गस्यैकारादेशो भवति ।

105. Before the case-endings ओस् and before आ of the Instrumental, ए is substituted for the final आ of the Feminine-affix.

आङ् is the name given to the affix टा, the Ins. Sg. by the ancient grammarians. As खट्वया, मालया, खट्वयोः, मालयोः, बहुराजया, कारीषगन्ध्यया, बहुराजयोः, कारीषगन्ध्ययोः ॥ Why the आ of the Feminine affix only? Observe कीलालपा ब्राह्मणेन कीलालपोः ब्राह्मणकुलयोः ॥ Where ever ङी or आप् is employed in Grammar, they mean the long forms ई and आ, and not when they are shortened, therefore, not here, अतिखट्वेन ब्राह्मणकुलेन ॥

The word कीलालपा is derived from कीलालं पिबति with the affix विच् (III. 2. 74). In the Ins. Sing. the final आ is elided by VI. 4. 140. Had therefore, आ only been used in the sûtra, instead of आप्, there would have been ए substitution in the case of कीलालपा also; for the लोप् rule VI. 4. 140 would find its scope in कीलालपः पश्य &c, and would be debarred here by the present sûtra.

The maxim ङ्याब् ग्रहणेऽदीर्घग्रहणम् is necessary, because otherwise on the maxim of sthânivadbhâva, the short substitutes of ङी and आप् would also be included. In fact, in the sûtra prohibiting sthânivad bhâva, we find this vârtika ङ्याब् ग्रहणेऽदीर्घः "A short (not long) substitute of ङी and आप् is not sthânivat".

संबुद्धौ च ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ सम्बुद्धौ, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आप इति वर्त्तते । संबुद्धौ च परत आबन्तस्याङ्गस्य एत्वं भवति ॥

106. ए is substituted for the final आ of a Feminine stem, in the Vocative Singular.

As हे खट्वे, हे बहुराजे, हे कारीषगन्ध्ये ॥

अम्बार्थनद्योर्ह्रस्वः ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अम्बार्थ, नद्योः, ह्रस्वः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संबुद्धाविति वर्त्तते । अम्बार्थानामङ्गानां नद्यन्तानां ह्रस्वो भवति, संबुद्धौ परतः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ डलकवतीनां प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥ वा० ॥ छन्दसि वेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ तलो ह्रस्वो वा ङिसंबुद्ध्योरिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ छन्दस्येव ह्रस्वत्वमिष्यते ॥ मातॄणां मातच् पुत्रार्थमर्हते ॥

107. A short vowel is substituted in the Voc. Sg. for the आ of the feminine, in the sense of 'mother, mother-dear', as well as for the long vowel of the Feminines called Nadî (I. 4. 3 &c).

As हे अम्ब ! हे अक्क ! हे अल्ल ! हे कुमारि ! हे शार्ङ्गरवि ! हे ब्रह्मबन्धु ! हे वीरबन्धु !

Vârt:—Prohibition must be stated when the endearing terms denoting mother have an uncombined ड, ल or क, as हे अम्बाडे ! हे अम्बाले ! हे अम्बिके ! But हे अक्क and हे अल्ल where the ल and क are conjunct.

Vârt:—Optionally so in the Veda: as हे अम्बाड ! or हे अम्बाडे ! हे अम्बाल ! or हे अम्बाले, हे अम्बिक ! हे अम्बिके ॥

Vârt:—A feminine stem formed with the affix तल् optionally becomes short before the Loc. Sg. and Voc. Sg. As देवत भक्तिः or देवतायां भक्तिः, हे देवत ! or हे देवते ॥ This shortening takes place in the Veda only.

Vârt:—In a Bahuvrîhi compound ending with मातृ, there is substituted मातच् for मातृ in the Voc. Sg. when the word means a son worthy of such a mother. As हे गार्गीमात ! = मात्रा व्यपदेशमर्हति श्लाघनीयत्वात् यः पुत्रः ॥ This debars the कप् affix of V. 4. 153. The च् of मातच् makes the final acute.

ह्रस्वस्य गुणः ॥ १०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ ह्रस्वस्य, गुणः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संबुद्धाविति वर्त्तते । ह्रस्वान्तस्याङ्गस्य गुणो भवति संबुद्धौ परतः ।

108. For short इ and उ final in a nominal-stem, a guṇa is substituted in the Vocative Singular.

As हे अग्ने, हे वायो, हे पटो ॥ But there is no guṇa in हे कुमारि, हे ब्रह्मबन्धु, because ई and ऊ were shortened specifically, and to substitute guṇa for them

would make their shortening a useless operation. Moreover, had guṇa been intended in the case of these nadî words, the sûtra would have been अम्बार्थानांह्रस्वः, २ नदीह्रस्वयोर्गुणः ॥

जसि च ॥ १०९ ॥ पदानि ॥ जसि, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जसि परतो ह्रस्वान्तस्याङ्गस्य गुणो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ जसादिषु छन्दसि वावचनं प्राक् णौ चङ्युपधाया ह्रस्व इत्येतस्मात् ॥

109. Before the affix अस् of the Nom. Pl., Guṇa is substituted for the final short vowel of a nominal stem.

As अग्नयः, वायवः, पटवः, धेनवः, बुद्धयः ॥

Vârt:—All these rules upto the end of this chapter are of optional application in the Veda. As अम्बे or अम्ब, पूर्णा दर्वि or पूर्णा दर्वी, अधा शतक्रत्वः or शतक्रतवः, पश्वे नृभ्यः or पशवे नृभ्यः, किकिदीव्या or किकिदीविना ॥

The forms दर्वि and दर्वी could have been regularly obtained by the optional use of ङीष् (कृदिकारादक्तिनः) ॥ शतक्रत्वः is formed by adding अस् to शतक्रतु without guṇa of उ, and उ being changed to व् ॥ The rule of lengthening the prior vowel (VI. 1. 102) which would have otherwise come, in the absence of guṇa does not take place, as a Vedic option (VI. 1. 106). किकिदीव्या is the Instrumental singular, the ना of VII. 3. 120 does not come. The word किकिदीवि is formed by Uṇâdi nipâtan (कृविघृष्वि &c Uṇ IV. 56).

ऋतो ङिसर्वनामस्थानयोः ॥ ११० ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋतः, ङि, सर्वनामस्थानयोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गुण इति वर्तते ऋकारान्तस्याङ्गस्य ङौ परतः सर्वनामस्थाने च गुणो भवति ॥

110. Guṇa is substituted for the final ऋ of a stem, in the Locative singular and in the Strong cases.

As मातरि, पितरि, भ्रातरि, कर्तरि ; मातरौ, पितरौ, भ्रातरौ, कर्तारौ, कर्तारः ॥ For the long in कर्तारौ and कर्तारः see VI. 4. 11. The त् in ऋत् is for the sake of facility of utterance.

Because before ङि and strong cases, it is impossible for a stem to end in a long vowel ॠ nor a dhâtu noun can so come, since in that case, long ॠ would be changed to इर् by VII. 1. 100, and in forms like कर्तॄणि there is नुम् ॥

घेर्ङिति ॥ १११ ॥ पदानि ॥ घेः, ङिति, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ घ्यन्तस्याङ्गस्य ङिति प्रत्यये परतो गुणो भवति ॥

111. For the इ and उ of the stems called घि (I.4.3.) Guṇa is substituted in Dative, Ablative and Genitive Singular.

As अग्नये, वायवे, अग्नेः, वायोः, (VI. 1. 110), Why of घि stems? Observe सख्ये, पत्ये ॥ Why in the Singulars of the Dat. Abl. and Loc. only? Observe अग्निभ्याम् ॥ The word case ending (सुपि) is understood here also, as the counter-examples are पट्वी, कुरुतः ॥

The word पट्वी is formed by adding ङीष् to पटु (IV. 1. 44). ङीष् is not a case-affix, though it is ङित् and is added to पटु which is घि ॥ कुरुतः is no proper example: for though तस् which is added to कुरु, is ङित्, it is only so by atideśa (सार्वधातुकमपित्), and moreover कुरु is not घि ॥

आण्नद्याः ॥ ११२ ॥ पदानि ॥ आट्, नद्याः, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ नद्यन्तादङ्गादुत्तरस्य ङितः प्रत्ययस्याडागमो भवति ॥

112. The augment आट् is added to the case-endings of the Dat. Abl. and Gen. Sg. after the stem called Nadî (I. 4. 3. &c.).

As कुमार्यै, किशोर्यै, ब्रह्मबन्ध्वै, धीरबन्ध्वै, कुमार्याः, किशोर्याः, ब्रह्मबन्ध्वाः, धीरबन्ध्वाः ॥

याडापः ॥ ११३ ॥ पदानि ॥ याट्, आपः, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ आबन्तादङ्गादुत्तरस्य ङितः प्रत्ययस्य याडागमो भवति ॥

113. The augment याट् is added to the Dat. Abl. and Gen. Sg. after a Feminine stem ending in आ ॥

As खट्वायै, बहुराजायै, कारीषगन्ध्यायै, खट्वायाः, बहुराजायाः, कारीषगन्ध्यायाः ॥ But in the compound अतिखट्व, (from खट्वामतिक्रान्तः), this rule does not apply, on the maxim ङ्याप् ग्रहणेऽदीर्घः as the आ has been shortened here. Even when the word अतिखट्व assumes the form अतिखट्वा in the Dative by VII. 3. 102, the affix does not take the augment याट्, because this long आ is a lâkshaṇika आ only, while the आ of the sûtra is a pratipadokta (लक्षणप्रतिपदोक्तयोः प्रतिपदस्यैव) ॥

सर्वनाम्नः स्याड्ढ्रस्वश्च ॥ ११४ ॥ पदानि ॥ सर्वनाम्नः, स्याट्, ह्रस्वः च, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वनाम्न आबन्तादङ्गादुत्तरस्य ङितः प्रत्ययस्य स्याडागमो ह्रस्वश्च भवति ॥

114. After a Pronominal stem ending in long आ of the Feminine, the Dat. Abl. and Gen. Sg. receive the augment स्याट् and the आ of the stem is shortened.

As सर्वस्यै, विश्वस्यै, यस्यै, तस्यै, कस्यै, भवत्यै, भवत्याः, सर्वस्याः, विश्वस्याः, यस्याः, तस्याः, कस्याः, अन्यस्यै अन्यस्याः ॥

But अमुष्यै where the stem does not end in long आ of the Feminine.

विभाषा द्वितीयातृतीयाभ्याम् ॥ ११५ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, द्वितीया, तृतीयाभ्याम्, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ द्वितीया तृतीया इत्येताभ्यामुत्तरस्य ङितः प्रत्ययस्य विभाषा स्याडागमो भवति ॥

115. After द्वितीया and तृतीया the Dat. Abl. and Gen. Sg. may optionally get the augment स्याट् before which the आ is shortened.

As द्वितीयस्यै or द्वितीयायै; तृतीयस्यै or तृतीयायै, द्वितीयस्याः or द्वितीयायाः, तृतीयस्याः or तृतीयायाः ॥

ङेराम्नद्याम्नीभ्यः ॥ ११६ ॥ पदानि ॥ ङेः, आम्, नदी, आप्, नीभ्यः, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ नद्यन्तादाबन्तान्नीत्येतस्माच्चोत्तरस्य ङेरामित्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

116. For the ending इ of the Loc. Sg. there is substituted आम्, after a stem called Nadî (I. 4. 3. &c), after the Feminines in आ, and after नी ॥

As कुमार्याम्, किशोर्याम्, गौर्याम्, ब्रह्मबन्ध्वाम्, धीरबन्ध्वाम्, खट्वायाम्, बहुराज्ञायाम्, कारीषगन्ध्यायाम्, नी--ग्रामण्याम्, सेनान्याम् ॥

The word ग्रामणी is formed by क्विप् affix added under III. 2. 61, the न is changed to ण by अम ग्रामाभ्याम्; and the याट् substitute in the Locative is by VI. 4. 82.

इदुद्भ्याम् ॥ ११७ ॥ पदानि ॥ इत्, उद्भ्याम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इकारोकाराभ्यां नदीसंज्ञकाभ्यामुत्तरस्य ङेरामादेशो भवति ॥

117. After the Feminine nadî words ending in इ and उ short, आम् is substituted for the ङि of the Loc. Sg.

As कृत्याम्, धेन्वाम्॥ See I. 4. 6.

The word नदी is understood here also. Obj. If this be so, it is not a really separate sûtra, because it is included in the last, and these forms could be obtained by the last sûtra : so that we ought to make only one sûtra of 117 and 118, as इदुद्भ्यामौत् ॥ Ans. We could not have done so, for then in the case of कृति and धेनु, the औ would have come and not आ, in this way. The आम् would have found scope in nadî words like कुमार्याम्, the औ would have undisputed scope in पत्यौ and सख्यौ; but in the case of कृति when getting the designation नदी the औ would have come, being subsequently taught, and the form would have been कृत्यौ instead of कृत्याम् ॥

औत् ॥ ११८ ॥ पदानि ॥ औत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इदुद्भ्यामुत्तरस्य ङेरौकारादेशो भवति ॥

118. After a stem ending in इ or उ short, and which is not a Nadî or a Ghi, औ is substituted for the ङि of the Loc. Sg.

As सख्यौ, पत्यौ ॥

In the case of नदी words आम् is taught by the previous sûtras; in the case of घि words औ preceded by अ substitution of घि letters will be taught in the next sûtra, so by the rule of exclusion, the present sûtra applies to words other than nadî and ghi.

अच्च घेः ॥ ११९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अत्, च, घेः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ औदिति वर्तते घिसंज्ञकादुत्तरस्य ङेरौकारादेशो भवति तस्य च घेरकारादेशो भवति ॥

119. After a Ghi (I. 4. 7) stem ending in short इ or उ, औ is substituted for the ङि of the Loc. Sg. and अ is substituted for the final of such Ghi stem.

As अग्नौ, वायौ, कृतौ, धेनौ, पटौ ॥ The short अ is substituted, in order to prevent the टाप् affix in the Feminine. Those who read 118 and 119 combined as औदच्च घेः translate it thus: "After every other stem ending in इ and उ (i. e. which is not a Nadi), औ is substituted for the Locative Singular ङि, whereby for the final of Ghi stems, अ is substituted". They do so on the analogy of the sûtra कर्तुः क्यङ् सलोपश्च (III 1. 11).

आङो नाऽस्त्रियाम् ॥ १२० ॥ पदानि ॥ आङः, ना, अ स्त्रियाम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ घेरुत्तरस्याङो नाभावो भवति अस्त्रियाम् ॥

120. ना is substituted for the ending आ of the Instrumental singular, after the Ghi stems, when they are not Feminine.

As अग्निना, वायुना, पटुना ॥ Why do we not say आङो ना पुंसि 'ना is substituted for आ in the Masculine'? Ans. In order to form the neuter Instrumentals also, as त्रपुणा, जतुना ॥ Obj. These can be formed by the augment नुम् under rule VII. 1. 73, and not by the ना of this sûtra. Ans. But अमुना will not be so formed as अमुना ब्राह्मणकुले ॥ Because मु substituted for दस् of अदस् VIII. 2. 80 is considered as asiddha or non-existent (VIII.2.1) for the purposes of the application of VII. 1. 73, and as अमु cannot take नुम्, it will take ना by this rule. Why do we say "not in the Feminine?" Observe कृत्या, धेन्वा ॥

ओ३म् ।

अथ सप्तमाध्यायस्य चतुर्थः पादः ।

BOOK SEVENTH.

CHAPTER FOURTH.

णौ चङ्युपधाया ह्रस्वः ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ णौ, चङि, उपधायाः, ह्रस्वः, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अङ्गस्येति वर्त्तते चङ्परे णौ यदङ्गं तस्योपधाया ह्रस्वो भवति ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ उपधाह्रस्वत्वे णौणिच्युपसंख्यानम् ॥

1. A short is substituted for the vowel, standing in a penultimate position, in the Causative stem, when the affix **चङ्** (sign of the Reduplicate Aorist of the Causatives) follows.

As अचीकरत्, अजीहरत्, अलीलवत्, अपीपठत् ॥ Here the rules of reduplication and shortening of the penultimate both present themselves simultaneously. The rule about shortening, being subsequent in order, is applied first, and then the reduplication takes place. Thus कारि + अत् = कार् + अत् (णि being elided VI. 4. 51) = कर् + अत् (shortening VII. 4. 1) = चकर् + अत् (VI. 1. 11) = चिकर् + अत् (VII. 4. 93, 79) = चीकरत् (VII. 4. 94). The necessity of maintaining this order will appear from the following considerations. The Causative stem of अट् is आटि ; the Aorist of which is आटि + चङ् + त् = आट् + अत् (VI. 4. 51). Now if reduplication took place first we shall have आटिट् + अत् (I. 1. 59 the elided इ will be present for the purposes of reduplication) and as the penultimate is short already, the form will be आटिटत्, which with the augment आ will be आ + आटिटत् = आटिटत् ॥ This is a correct form, so far as it goes; but when the augment is elided in connection with the negative मा, the form will be मा भवान् आटिटत्, the correct form however is मा भवान् अटिटत् with a short अ, which can be formed if we shorten first and then reduplicate, as आट् + अत् = अट् + अत् = अटिट् + अत् = अटिटत्, which with the augment आ, will be आटिटत् ॥ In fact, though the reduplication of the second syllable (VI. 1. 2) is a *nitya* rule, because it applies even where a penultimate is shortened and where not, yet the rule about shortening takes effect first, because the author has himself indicated this, by making the root

ओण have an indicatory ऋ in the Dhâtupâṭha (See VII. 4. 2 about ऋदित् verbs). For had the reduplication taken place first in the case of ओणृ (Bhu. 482), as ओणिण्, there would be no long vowel to be shortened, and there would be no necessity of the probibition (VII. 4. 2).

Obj: Why do we say 'in the Causative'? The चङ् Aorist is formed of Causatives only (See III. I. 48), the only exceptions being the simple roots श्रि, द्रु, स्रु, धेट् and श्वि, none of which have any vowel in the penultimate and कम् and गुप् have already short upadhâ. The sûtra चङ्युपधाया ह्रस्वः would have been enough. Ans. Had the sûtra been, as proposed, then it would have meant, 'that which is penultimate when चङ् follows, should be shortened'. Therefore in the Aorist of the Causative of लू, we have लू+णि+चङ्+त्=लू+इ+अत् here the penultimate *with regard* to चङ् is ऊ, which would be shortened, debarring Vṛiddhi and आव् substitute, and there would have come the उवङ् substitute instead. But that is not the case. We have अलीलवत्, and not अलुलुवत् ॥ Similarly, in the Aorist of the Causative of पा, we shall have पा+इ+अत्, and आ being shortened we have प+इ+अत, so that we cannot add the augment पुक् (VII. 3. 36), and form अपीपयत् ॥ And the forms like अपीपचत् (पच्+इ+अत्) would not at all admit of shortening.

Why do we say when चङ् follows? Observe कारयति, हारयति where there is no shortening in the Present Tense. Why do we say of the penultimate? Observe अचकाङ्क्षत् from काङ्क्ष्, and अववाञ्छत् from वाञ्छ, where the penultimate being a consonant, there can be no shortening. Had the word penultimate been not used, the vowels of these would be shortened. And the word 'upadhâ' is also absolutely necessary for the sake of the subsequent sûtras like VII. 4. 4, and it prevents shortening in the above case, which would have otherwise taken place, on the maxim येन नाव्यवधानं तेन व्यवहितेऽपि वचन प्रामाण्यात् which qualifies I. 1. 67.

Vârt:—The rule of shortening of the penultimate applies to the चङ् Aorist of the Causative of the Causative i. e. to the double Causative even. Thus अवीवदत् (=वादितवन्तं प्रयोजितवान्) वीणां परिवादकेन ॥ Otherwise वादि +इ+अत्=वाद्+इ+अत्=वाद्+०+अत् ॥ Here the elided इ being sthanivat, will prevent shortening, or because the stem has lost a simple-vowel (अग्लोपिन्), it will not be shortened. The present vârtika makes it so however.

नाग्लोपिशास्वृदिताम् ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, अक्, लोपि, शासु, ऋदिताम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अग्लोपिनामङ्गानां शासेर्ऋदितां च णौ चङ्युपधाया ह्रस्वो न भवति ॥

2. The shortening of the penultimate of the stem, before the causative affix, in the reduplicated-Aorist, does not take place, when it is a (Denominative) stem, which has lost

a simple (end vowel of the Nominal-stem), before the Causative sign and also not, when it is the verb शास्, or a root which has an indicatory ऋ ॥

The word अग्लोपिन् means literally a stem, in which a simple vowel (अक् pratyâhâra) or a portion containing an अक् vowel has been dropped. As the final vowels of Denominative stems are so elided before the Causative sign णि, the sûtra has been translated accordingly. Thus अममालत् = मालामाख्यत्; अममातरत् = मातरमाख्यत्, अरराजत् = राजानमतिक्रान्तवान्, अलुलोमत् = लोमान्यनुमृष्टवान् ॥ Where a simple अक् vowel *alone* is elided, as in the case of माला, there the elided आ being sthânivat, would prevent the shortening, the आ of मा not being then considered penultimate. So that अग्लोपिन् could be spared from the sûtra, since the sthânivad-bhâva would prevent shortening. But where an अक् vowel plus a consonant is dropped, as in राजन् and लोमन्, there the sthânivad-bhâva does not apply (I. 1. 57), hence the necessity of employing the term अग्लोपिन् in the sûtra. Similarly अशशासत् with शास्; and अबबाधत् from बाधृ, अययाचत् from याचृ, and अडुढौकत from ढौकृ ॥ See III. 1. 21 and 25.

भ्राजभासभाषदीपजीवमीलपीडामन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ भ्राज, भास, भाष, दीप, जीव, मील, पीडाम्, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भ्राज भास भाष दीप जीव मील पीड इत्येतेषामङ्गानां णौ चङ्युपधाया ह्रस्वो भवत्यन्यतरस्याम् ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ काण्यादीनां वेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

3. The shortening of the penultimate of the Causative stem, in the reduplicated Aorist, is optional in the following:—bhrâj, bhâs, bhâsh, dîp, jîv, mîl and pîḍ.

As अबिभ्रजत् or अबभ्राजत्, अबीभसत् or अबभासत्, अबीभषत् or अबभाषत्, अदीदिपत् or अदिदीपत्, अजीजिवत् or अजिजीवत्, अमीमिलत् or अमिमीलत्, अपीपिडत् or अपिपीडत् ॥ The Dhâtupâṭha reads भ्राजृ (Bhu. 194) and भासृ (Bh. 655). The indicatory ऋ is unnecessary and not countenanced by Pâṇini, as shown in this sûtra. Had they been ऋदित्, they would have been governed by the last aphorism.

Vârt:—The words काणि, शाणि, राणि, हेठि, लोपि should be enumerated: as अचकाणत् or अचीकणत्, अरराणत् or अरीरणत्, अबभाणत् or अबिभणत्, अबभाणत् or अबीभणत्, अजीहिठत्, अजिहेठत्, अलुलोपत् or अलूलुपत् ॥

लोपः पिबतेरीच्चाभ्यासस्य ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ लोपः, पिबतेः, ईत्, च, अभ्यासस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पिबतेरङ्गस्य णौ चङ्युपधाया लोपो भवति अभ्यासस्येकारादेशो भवति ॥

4. The penultimate vowel, in the Causative stem of पा 'to drink' is elided in the Aorist, and for the vowel of the Reduplicate there is substituted long ई ॥

As पा + णि + अत् = पाइ + इ + अत् (VII. 3. 37) = पाय् + अत् (VI. 4. 51) = पृय् + अत् (VII. 4. 8) = पप्य् + अत् (I. 1. 59) = पीप्यत् (VII. 4. 4). Thus अपीप्यत्, अपीप्यताम्, अपीप्यन् ॥ When the penultimate आ is elided, there remains प् which cannot be reduplicated as having no vowel, but the elided आ is considered as sthânivat and thus पा is reduplicated. Sûtra VII. 4. 80 establishes by implication the principle that the substitutes caused by णि are sthânivat. Thus भू + णि = भावि; in reduplicating, this भा will not be reduplicated, but भू, as बुभावि, भा = भू by sthâinvad-bhâva.

तिष्ठतेरित् ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तिष्ठतेः, इत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तिष्ठतेरङ्गस्य णौ चङ्युपधाया इकारादेशो भवति ॥

5. Short इ is substituted for the penultimate vowel of the Causative stem of स्था in the Aorist.

Thus अतिष्ठिपत्, अतिष्ठिपताम्, and अतिष्ठिपन् ॥ The form is thus evolved. स्था + णिच् + अत् = स्थाप् + इ + अत् (VII. 3. 36) = स्थाप् + अत् (VI. 4. 51) = स्थिप् + अत् (VII. 4. 5) = तिष्ठिपत् ॥

जिघ्रतेर्वा ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ जिघ्रतेः, वा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जिघ्रतेरङ्गस्य णौ चङ्युपधाया इकारादेशो वा भवति ॥

6. Short इ is optionally substituted for the penultimate vowel of the Causative stem of घ्रा in the Aorist.

As अजिघ्रिपत् or अजिघ्रपत्, अजिघ्रिपताम् or अजिघ्रपताम्, अजिघ्रिपन् or अजिघ्रपन् ॥ Thus घ्रा + णि + अत् = घ्राप् + इ + अत् (VII. 3. 36) = घ्रिप् + इ + अत् (VII. 4. 6) = घ्रिप् + अत् (VI. 4. 51) = जिघ्रिपत् ॥ When इ is not substituted, आ is shortened by VII. 4. 1.

उर्ऋत् ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ उः, ऋत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ णौ चङ्युपधाया ऋवर्णस्य स्थाने वा ऋकारादेशो भवति ॥

7. Short ऋ is optionally substituted for the penultimate ऋ and ॠ of a Causative stem, in the reduplicated Aorist.

This debars the इर् (VII. 3. 101), अर् (VII. 3. 86), and आर् (VII. 2. 114) substitutes. Thus अचिकीर्तत् (VII. 1. 101) or अचिकृतत् from कृत् (Chur 111): अववर्तत् (VII. 3. 86), or अवीवृतत्; अममार्जत् (VII. 2. 114) or अमीमृजत् ॥ Though the इर्, अर् and आर् substitutes are antaranga operations, they are prohibited by the express text of this sûtra. The short ऋ is substituted even for a long ॠ: the त् of ऋत् shows that, as in अचीकृतत् (VIII. 2. 77). In fact, this ऋ substitute does not take place after the operations of इर्, आर् and अर् substitutions have taken effect, but it is a form which suspends the operation of all those rules.

नित्यं छन्दसि ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ नित्यम्, छन्दसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये णौ चङ्युपधाया ऋवर्णस्य स्थाने ऋकारादेशो भवति नित्यम् ॥

8. Short ऋ is invariably substituted in the Veda, for the penultimate ऋ or ॠ of a Causative stem, in the Reduplicated Aorist.

As अवीवृधत्, अवीवृधताम् and अवीवृधन् ॥

दयतेर्दिगि लिटि ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ दयतेः, दिगि, लिटि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दयतेरङ्गस्य लिटि परतो दिगीत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

9. दिगि is substituted for दे (दयते), in the Perfect.

As अव दिग्ये, अव दिग्याते, अव दिग्यिरे ॥ The root देङ् 'to protect' (Bhu. 1011) is to be taken, and not दय 'to give' (Bhu. 510), for that root forms its Perfect by आम् (Periphrastic Perfect) as taught in III. 1. 37. The substitute दिगि debars reduplication.

ऋतश्च संयोगादेर्गुणः ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋतः, च, संयोग-आदेः, गुणः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋकारान्तस्याङ्गस्य संयोगादेर्गुणो भवति लिटि परतः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ संयोगादेर्गुणविधाने संयोगोपधग्रहणं कृञर्थं कर्तव्यम् ॥

10. A root ending in short ऋ, and preceded by a conjunct consonant, gets Guṇa in the Perfect.

As सस्वरतुः, सस्वरुः from स्वृ, दध्वरतुः, दध्वरुः from ध्वृ, सस्मरतुः, सस्मरुः from स्मृ ॥ Why do we say ending in ऋ? Observe चिक्षियतुः, चिक्षियुः ॥ Why do we say beginning with a conjunct consonant'? Observe चक्रतुः, चक्रुः ॥ This sûtra ordains Guṇa where there was prohibition by I. 2. 5 read with I. 1. 5. But this does not debar the Vṛiddhi caused by णल् (VII. 1. 115). In fact, that prior rule supersedes this posterior rule, as सस्वार, दध्वार, सस्मार ॥ The word लिटि is to be supplied in the sûtra, the rule does not apply to Nishṭhâ &c., as स्मृतः, स्मृतवान् ॥

Vârt:—For the sake of कृञ्, the guṇa should be stated even where the double-consonant is in the penultimate position and not in the beginning. As संचस्करतुः, संचस्करुः ॥See VI. 1. 135. On the maxim पूर्वं धातुः साधनेन युज्यते पश्चादुपसर्गेण 'a root is first developed fully and then the preposition is added to it'; we first develop कृ in the Perfect by reduplication, which gives us चकृ+अतुस्, then we add the preposition as संचकृ+अतुः, then we add सुट् though the reduplicate intervenes, by VI. 1. 136 and 137, as संचस्कृ+अतुः, now the root assumes a form in which the penultimate begins with a double consonant, and applying the vârtika we make guṇa, and get संचस्करतुः ॥

It is by this consideration that in संस्कृषीष्ट, उपस्कृषीष्ट, the सुट् augment being Bahiranga and consequently considered as non-existent (asiddha), there is no इट् augment added by VII. 2. 43.

ऋच्छत्यृताम् ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋच्छति, ऋ, ऋताम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋच्छतेरङ्गस्य ऋ इत्येतस्य ॠकारान्तानां च लिटि परतो गुणो भवति ॥

11. There is guṇa in the Perfect of ऋच्छ्, ऋ and roots ending in long ॠ.

As आनर्च्छ, आनर्च्छतुः, आनर्च्छुः from ऋच्छ्, आर, आरतुः, आरुः from ऋ, and नि चकरतुः, नि चकरुः, नि जगरतुः, नि जगरुः from कॄ and गॄ ॥ ऋच्छ् not having a light vowel in the penultimate, would not have received guṇa by VII. 3. 86, this sûtra ordains it; roots in long ॠ never received guṇa, but इर् substitution; this ordains guṇa. The Vṛiddhi of VII. 2. 115 supersedes this rule, within its own jurisdiction, a prior superseding the posterior: as निचकार, नि जगार ॥

शॄदॄप्रां ह्रस्वो वा ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ शॄ, दॄ, प्राम्, ह्रस्वः, वा, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शॄ दॄ पॄ इत्येतेषामङ्गानां लिटि परतो वा ह्रस्वो भवति ॥

12. In शॄ, 'to injure' (IX. 18) दॄ 'to tear' (IX. 23) and पॄ to protect' (IX. 19) the vowel may optionally be shortened in the Perfect.

As वि शश्रतुः by shortening or वि शशरतुः, by guṇa, which prevents ए and abhyâsalopa (VI. 4. 126) वि शश्रुः or विशशरुः, विदद्रतुः or विददरतुः, विदद्रुः or विददरुः; निपप्रतुः or नि पपरतुः, नि पप्रुः or नि पपरुः ॥ Why is the word 'short' made optional in the sûtra, and not the word 'guṇa'; for in the absence of guṇa, the long ॠ would have become र before अतुः by यणादेशः, and we would have got the forms विशश्रतुः, विशश्रुः by the regular rules of 'sandhi'? The word 'short' is used in the sûtra, in order to debar the इर् and उर् alternatives. Had the sûtra been "शॄ दॄ प्रां वा" the alternative examples would have been with इर् (VII. 1. 101) as शिशिरतुः. विदिरतुः and उर् (VIII. 2. 77) as पिपुरतुः ॥ Some say this sûtra is unnecessary. The above forms like वि शश्रतुः, विशश्रुः, &c. can be regularly obtained from the roots श्रा 'to cook', द्रा 'to abuse', and प्रा 'to fill' and as the roots have many other senses, besides those assigned to them in the Dhâtupâṭha, the roots श्रा, द्रा and प्रा will give the meanings of शॄ, दॄ, and पॄ" ॥ If that were so, the form विशश्रुवान् with the affix क्वसु could not be formed, for we should have either विशशर्वान् from शॄ root or विशश्रिवान् from श्रा root but never विशश्रुवान् ॥ So the rule about shortening is necessary.

केऽणः ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ के, अणः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ के प्रत्यये परतो ऽणो ह्रस्वो भवति ॥

13. Before the affix क, the preceding आ, ई and ऊ are shortened.

As ज्ञका, (VII. 3. 47) कुमारिका, किशोरिका, ब्रह्मबन्धुका ॥ Why आ, ई and ऊ only? Observe गोका, नौका ॥ The words राका, धाका are irregular being formed by Uṇâdi diversity. with the affix क added to रा and धा (Uṇ III. 40) By the following sûtra, the rule does not apply to the affix कप्; it therefore implies that कन् is governed by this rule, though it has the anubandha न् ॥ Kâtyâyana would confine this rule to the Taddhita क, and not the kṛit क of the

Uṇâdi, as राका, धाका; but Uṇâdi words are not derivatives (उणादयोऽव्युत्पन्नानि प्रातिपदिकानि), and hence no necessity of reading Taddhita into the sûtra.

न कपि ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, कपि, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कपि प्रत्यये परतो ऽणो ह्रस्वो न भवति ॥

14. But before the samâsanta affix कप coming after Bahuvrîhi compounds, the अण् vowels are not shortened.

As बहुकुमारीकः, बहुवृषलीकः, बहुवधूकः, बहुलक्ष्मीकः ॥ The shortening ordained by I. 2. 48 even does not operate when कप follows.

For had there been upasarjana shortening (I. 2. 48), the present sûtra would be useless. Therefore, the very existence of this sûtra debars every sort of shortening. Obj. The present sûtra would not be useless, for it will find scope where there is no shortening of the upasarjana by I. 2. 48: namely before non-feminine affixes, as बहुयवागूकः; but there should be shortening in feminine affixes. Ans. The shortening of I. 2. 48 will not take place before कप् affix. Because the affix कप् will first be added to the second member in the sense of the compound, and then the word so ending in कप् will be compounded with the first member. So there is no *prâtipadika* left which ends in a feminine affix, and therefore I. 2. 48, does not apply, because the pratipadika now left is one ending in the affix कप् and not in a feminine affix.

आपोन्यतरस्याम् ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आपः, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आबन्तस्याङ्गस्य कपि ह्रस्वो न भवत्यन्यतरस्याम् ॥

15. Optionally the feminine stem in आ is not shortened before कप् ॥

As बहुखट्वाकः or बहुखट्वकः, बहुमालकः or बहुमालाकः ॥

ऋदृशो ऽङि गुणः ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋ, दृशः, अङिः, गुणः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋवर्णान्तानां दृशेश्च अङि परतो गुणो भवति ॥

16. Guṇa is substituted for the vowel of the root, before the affix अङ्, in the roots ending in ऋ or ॠ, as well as in दृश् ॥

As शकलाङ्गुष्ठकोऽकरत्, अहं तेभ्योऽकरं नमः, असरत्, आरत्, अजरत्, अदर्शताम्, अदर्शन् ॥ The affix अङ् means the Aorist-character अङ् of which the above examples are given. It also is the krit-affix (III. 3. 104). of which we have जॄ—जरा ॥

The word अकरत् is अङ् Aorist formed from कृ by III. 1. 59. The word असरत् is from सृ (III. 1. 56). अदर्शत् by VI. 1. 57.

अस्यतेस्थुक् ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अस्यतेः, थुक्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अस्यतेरङ्गस्य थुगागमो भवत्यङि परतः ॥

17. The stem अस् (अस्यते) gets the augment थुक् before this Aorist अङ् ॥

As आस्थत्, आस्थताम्, आस्थन् ॥ See III. 1. 52.

श्वयतेरः ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ श्वयतेः, अः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्वयतेरङ्गस्याकारादेशो भवत्यङि परतः ॥

18. The अ is substituted for the final of श्वि in the अङ् Aorist.

As अश्वत्, अश्वताम्, अश्वन् ॥ For the अ of the stem and the अ of the affix, there is the single substitute of the last by VI. 2. 97. See III. 1. 58.

पतः पुम् ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ पतः, पुम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पतेरङ्गस्य पुमागमो भवत्यङि परतः ॥

19. The augment प् is added after the vowel of the root पत् in the अङ्-Aorist.

As अपप्तत्, अपप्तताम्, अपप्तन् ॥ The पत् takes the अङ् Aorist as it has an indicatory ऌ in the Dhâtupâṭha (III. 1. 55).

वचउम् ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ वचः, उम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वचेरङ्गस्य अङि परत उमागमो भवति ॥

20. The augment उ is added after the अ of वच् in the अङ्-Aorist.

As अवोचत्, अवोचताम्, अवोचन् ॥ See III. 1. 52.

शीङः सार्वधातुके गुणः ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ शीङः, सार्वधातुके, गुणः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शीङोऽङ्गस्य सार्वधातुके परतो गुणो भवति ॥

21. For the vowel of शी, there is substituted guṇa, when a Sârvadhâtuka affix follows.

As शेते, शयाते, शेरते, but शिश्ये before the ârdhadhâtuka affix (III. 4. 115). Though these sârvadhâtuka affixes were ङित् (I. 2. 4) and would not have caused guṇa (I. 4. 5), they do so by virtue of the present sûtra. The word शीङ् is read in the sûtra with the anubardha ङ्, in order to indicate that the rule does not apply to यङ् लुक् as शेशीतः, शेश्यति ॥

अयङ् यि क्ङिति ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अयङ्, यि, क्ङिति, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यकारादौ क्ङिति प्रत्यये परतः शीङोऽङ्गस्यायङित्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

22. Before an affix beginning with य् and having an indicatory क् or ङ्, there is substituted अय् for the ई of शी ॥

As शय्यते with यक्, शाशय्यते with यङ्, प्रशय्य and उपशय्य with ल्यप् which being the substitute of क्त्वा is कित् ॥ But शिश्ये where the affix is ए, and शेयम् where the affix is यत् (neither कित् or ङित्) ॥

उपसर्गाद्ध्रस्व ऊहतेः ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ उप सर्गात्, ह्रस्वः, ऊहतेः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्गादुत्तरस्य ऊहतेरणस्य ह्रस्वो भवति यकारादौ क्ङिति ॥

23. The short is substituted for the ऊ of ऊह् when a Preposition precedes it, and an affix beginning with य् with an indicatory क् or ङ् follows.

As समुह्यते, प्रत्युह्यते, समुह्य, अभ्युह्यते, अभ्युह्य ॥ But ऊह्यते without Preposition. Why do we say of ऊह्? Observe समीह्यते ॥ Why do we say 'before य'? Observe समूहितम् ॥ Why do we say having indicatory क् or ङ्? Observe अभ्यूह्यः with यत् ॥ Of course the shortening takes place of ऊ (or अण् vowel, the word अण् being understood here from VII. 4. 13), and not when it assumes the form ओ, as आ ऊह्यते = ओह्यते, समोह्यते ॥

एतेर्लिङि ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ एतेः, लिङि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एतेरणस्योपसर्गादुत्तरस्य लिङि यकारादौ क्ङिति परतो ह्रस्वो भवति ॥

24. The short is substituted for the vowel of the stem इ (एति) before the augment यासु in the Benedictive, when a Preposition precedes it.

As उदियात्, समियात्, अन्वियात् ॥ This is an exception to the following sûtra by which a long would have been substituted. But ईयात् without a Preposition. The अण् (VII. 4. 13) is understood here also. Therefore ए form of इ will not be shortened, as आ+इयात् = एयात्, समेयात् ॥

अकृत्सार्वधातुकयोर्दीर्घः ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अकृत्, सार्वधातुकयोः, दीर्घः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अकृद्यकारे असार्वधातुकयकारे च क्ङिति परतोऽजन्तस्याङ्गस्य दीर्घो भवति ॥

25. A long is substituted for the final vowel of the stem, before an affix beginning with a य् having an indicatory क् or ङ्, when it is not either a Kṛit or a Sârvadhâtuka affix.

Thus भृशायते, सुखायते, and दुःखायते with the Denominative affix क्यङ् according to III. 1. 12 and 18. चीयते and स्तूयते with the Passive यक्, चेचीयते and तोष्टूयते with the Intensive यङ्, and चीयात् and स्तूयात् in the Benedictive (See III.4.116). But प्रकृत्य and प्रहृत्य where the affix ल्यप् is kṛit, and had the vowel been lengthened by this subsequent rule, the antecedent तुक् augment would have been debarred (VI. 1. 71). And चिनुयात् and सुनुयात् where the Personal endings of the Potential are sârvadhâtuka. The phrase क्ङिति is understood in this sûtra, so there is no lengthening before non-kit and non-ṅit affixes, as, उरुया, धृष्णुया, formed by या under VII. 1. 39.

च्वौ च ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ च्वौ, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ च्विप्रत्यये परतोऽजन्तस्याङ्गस्य दीर्घो भवति ॥

26. A long is substituted for the final vowel of the stem, before the Adverbial affix च्वि (V. 4. 50).

As शुची करोति, शुची स्यात्, शुची भवति, पटू करोति, पटू स्यात्, पटू भवति ॥ The च draws in the anuvṛitti of the phrase 'non-krit, and non-sârvadhâtuka' from the last sûtra, which though not of any direct use in this aphorism, is necessary for the sake of subsequent ones. See VII. 4. 32 for words ending in अ ॥

रीङृतः ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ रीङ्, ऋतः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ च्वाविति वर्त्तते ॥ अकृत्सार्वधातुकयोरिति च ॥ ऋकारान्तस्याङ्गस्य अकृद्यकारेऽसार्वधातुके यकारे च्वौ च परतो रीङित्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

27. री is substituted for the final short ऋ of a stem, before an affix beginning with य, when it is not a Krit nor a Sârvadhâtuka affix, and before the adverbial affix च्वि ॥

The anuvṛitti of क्ङिति is, however, not understood in this sûtra; that of च्वौ and अकृत्सार्वधातुकयोः is present. Thus मात्रीयति and पित्रीयति with क्यच (III. 1. 8), मात्रीयते, पित्रीयते with क्यङ् (III. 1. 11). चेक्रीयते with यङ्, मात्रीभूतः with च्वि ॥ The कित् and ङित् not being understood here, we have पितुरागतं = पित्र्यम् (IV. 3. 79), which is thus formed पितृ+यत् = पित्री + य = पित्र्+य (ई being elided by VI. 4. 148). Why do we say short ऋ? Observe चेकीर्यते, from कॄ विक्षेपे, with यङ्, ऋत इद् धातोः and हलि च lengthening. निजेगिल्यते from कॄ and गॄ ॥

रिङ् शयग्लिङ्क्षु ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ रिङ्, श, यक्, लिङ् क्षु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋकारान्तस्याङ्गस्य श यक् इत्येतयोर्लिङि च यकारादौ असार्वधातुके परतो रिङित्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

28. For the final short ऋ of a root, there is substituted रि, before the Present-character अ (श), before the Passive-character य, and before the augment यास् in the Benedictive.

The word लिङि in the aphorism is qualified by the phrase यकारादौ असार्वधातुके ॥ A Liṅ affix which begins with a य and is not a Sârvadhâtuka, is necessarily the augment यास् of the Benedictive. Thus श — आ द्रियते and आ ध्रियते (the य् comes by VI. 4. 77). यक् — क्रियते, ह्रियते ॥ लिङ् — क्रियात् and ह्रियात् ॥ This short रि debars the long री of the last. The word non-Sârvadhâtuka being understood, the rule does not apply to the Potential, as बिभृयात् ॥ The यि (VII. 4. 22) is understood here also, therefore when the Benedictive affix does not begin with य, the rule does not apply, as कृषीष्ट, हृषीष्ट ॥

गुणोर्तिसंयोगाद्योः ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ गुणः, अर्ति, संयोगाद्योः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋतो यकि लिङि इति वर्तते ॥ शइत्यस्मात्सम्भवान्नानुवर्तते ॥ गुणो भवत्यर्तेः संयोगादीनामृकारान्तानां यकि परतो, लिङि च यकारादावसार्वधातुके ॥

29. Guṇa is substituted for the final ऋ in the root ऋ (अर्ति), and in those roots ending in ऋ, in which

the vowel is preceded by a conjunct consonant, when the Passive character यक् or the Benedictive augment यासुट् follows.

The words ऋतः, यकि and लिङि are understood here. Not so the word च as its anuvritti is impossible. Thus अर्यते, अर्यात्, स्मर्यते and स्मर्यात् ॥ This is an exception to I. 1. 5. In सं स्क्रियते and संस्क्रियात् (VI. 1. 135), there is no Guṇa, either because in स्कृ the augment स् is considered as Bahiranga and therefore asiddha, or because it is considered as no part of (or non-attached to) कृ, and therefore स् कृ is not a root beginning with a conjunct consonant. See however VII. 4. 10, where in forming संचस्करतुः, स्कृ is considered as a root beginning with a conjunct consonant. See also Mahâbhâshya on VI. 1. 135. The लिङि (VII. 4. 22) is understood here also; the Benedictive affix must begin with य, therefore not here स्वृषीष्ट, ध्वृषीष्ट ॥ The word non-sarvadhâtuka is also understood here, the rule does not apply to the Potential, as इयृयात्, there is ślu substitution of śap, reduplication, then there is इ substitution in the reduplicate by VII. 4. 77, then इयङ् by VI. 4. 78.

यङि च ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ यङि, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यङि च परतो अर्त्तेः संयोगादेश्च ऋतो गुणो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ न न्द्राः संयोगादय इति द्विर्वचनप्रतिषेधो यकारपरस्य नेष्यते ॥

वा० ॥ हन्तेर्हिंसायां यङि घ्नीभावो वक्तव्यः ॥

30. Guṇa is substituted for the final ऋ of the root ऋ (अर्ति) and in those roots, ending in short ऋ, in which the vowel is preceded by a conjunct consonant, when the Intensive character यङ् follows.

As अरार्यते, सास्वर्यते, दाध्वर्यते, सास्मर्यते ॥ The root ऋ takes यङ् according to a Vârtika under Sûtra III. 1. 22, with Guṇa we have ऋ+य=अर्य ॥ By VI. 1. 2, the second member is reduplicated, in spite of the prohibition in VI. 1. 3, for according to Patanjali र् followed by य is not governed by that prohibition. So we have अर्यर्य, and according to VII. 4. 60, the य is dropped, and we have अरर्य, and by VII. 4. 83, we get अरार्य ॥ This is an exeeption to I. 1. 5.

Vârt:—In the Intensive of हन् 'to kill', घ्नी is substituted for हन् as जेघ्नीयते ॥ The substitute is with a long ई, had it been with a short इ, that might also have been lengthened by VII. 4. 25. Not doing so, however, indicates the existence of the maxim संज्ञापूर्वकोविधिरनित्यः "A rule is not universally valid, when that which is taught in it is denoted by a technical term". It is through this that स्वायंभुवः is formed from स्वयंभू; because the Guṇa taught by VI. 4. 146, does not take place here before the Taddhita affix अण्, in as much as that rule VI. 4. 146, is taught by employing the technical term गुणः in ओर्गुणः instead of ओरोत्, hence that rule is anitya, and we have उवङ् ॥

Why do we say when meaning 'to kill'? Observe अङ्घ्यन्ते where it means to do.

ई घ्राध्मोः ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ ई, घ्रा, ध्मोः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ घ्रा ध्मा इत्येतयोर्यङि परत ईकारादेशो भवति ॥

31. Long ई is substituted for the vowel of the roots घ्रा and ध्मा in the Intensive.

As जेघ्रीयते, देध्मीयते ॥ The long ई is for the sake of the subsequent sûtra, short इ would have, by VII. 4. 25, given the same forms also.

अस्य च्वौ ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अस्य, च्वौ, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ई इति वर्तते अवर्णान्तस्याङ्गस्य च्वौ परत ईकारादेशो भवति ॥

32. Long ई is substituted for the final अ or आ of a Nominal stem, before the Adverbial affix च्वि (V. 4. 50).

As शुक्ली करोति, शुक्ली भवति, शुक्ली स्यात् ॥ खट्वी करोति, खट्वी भवति and खट्वी स्यात् ॥

क्यचि च ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्यचि, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अस्येति वर्तते क्यचि परतोऽवर्णान्तस्याङ्गस्य ईकारादेशो भवति ॥

33. Long ई is substituted for the final अ or आ of a Nominal stem, before the Denominative affix क्यच् ॥

As पुत्रीयति, घटीयति, खट्वीयति, मालीयति ॥ This is an exception to VII. 4. 25. The separating of this aphorism from the preceding, is for the sake of the subsequent aphorism.

अशनायोदन्यधनाया बुभुक्षापिपासागर्द्धेषु ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अशनाय, उदन्य धनायाः, बुभुक्षा, पिपासा, गर्द्धेषु, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अशनाय उदन्य धनाय इत्येतानि निपात्यन्ते बुभुक्षा पिपासा गर्द्ध इत्येतेष्वर्थेषु ॥

34. The Denominative roots अशनाय, उदन्य and धनाय are irregularly formed, when they respectively mean 'to be hungry', 'to be thirsty', 'to be greedy'.

Thus अशनायति from अशन+क्यच्, आ instead of ई; the other form being अशनीयति who is not hungry at the time, but wishes to get food for some future occasion, and therefore when not meaning 'to be hungry'; उदन्यति 'he is thirsty', उदन् being substituted for उदक ; in any other sense we have उदकीयति, who wants water for purposes of bathing &c. धनायति 'he is greedy'; in any other sense, धनीयति who is poor, and therefore wishes to get riches.

नच्छन्दस्यपुत्रस्य ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, छन्दसि, अ, पुत्रस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये पुत्रवर्जितस्यावर्णान्तस्याङ्गस्य क्यचि यदुक्तं तन्न भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अपुत्रादीनामिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

35. In the Veda, the above rules causing lengthening, or the substitution of long ई for the final vowel of the stem, do not apply, except in the case of पुत्र ॥

Thus मित्रयुः, संस्वेदयुः, देवाञ् जिगाति सुम्नयुः ॥ But पुत्रीयन्तः, सुदानवः (Rig VII. 96. 4).

Vârt:—It should be rather stated पुत्र and the rest: as जनीयन्तोऽन्वयः ॥ See III. 2. 170, for the affix उ ॥

दुरस्युर्द्रविणस्युर्वृषण्यति रिषण्यति ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ दुरस्युः, द्रविणस्युः, वृषण्यति, रिषण्यति, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दुरस्युः द्रविणस्युः वृषण्यति रिषण्यति एतानि छन्दसि निपात्यन्ते ॥

36. In the Veda दुरस्यु, द्रविणस्यु, वृषण्यति and रिषण्यति are irregularly formed.

As अविद्यांना दुरस्युः, (= दुष्टीयति with the affix क्यच् added to दुष्ट), द्रविणस्यु र्विपन्यया (द्रविणीयति, here द्रविणस् is substituted for द्रविण similarly). वृषण्यति = वृषीयति (वृषण् substituted for वृष) ॥ रिषण्यति = रिष्टीयति (रिषण् substituted for रिष्ट) ॥

अश्वाघस्यात् ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अश्व, अघस्य, आत्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अश्व अघ इत्येतयोः क्यचि परतः छन्दसि विषये आकारादेशो भवति ॥

37. In the Veda, long आ is substituted for the final of अश्व and अघ, before the Denominative क्यच् ॥

As अश्वायन्तो मघवन् (Rig VII. 32. 23), मा त्वा वृका अघायवो विदन् ॥ This also indicates that other words do not lengthen their vowel in the Veda before क्यच्, as taught in VII. 4. 35. See Vârtika to III. 1. 8. The word अघायु occurs in Rig I. 120. 7, 27; 3.

देवसुम्नयोर्यजुषि काठके ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ देव सुम्नयोः, यजुषि, काठके, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ देव सुम्न इत्येतयोः क्यचि परत आकारादेशो भवति यजुषि काठके ॥

38. Long आ is substituted for the final of देव and सुम्न before the Denominative क्यच् in Yajush Kâṭhaka.

As देवायन्तो यजमानाः सुम्नायन्तो हवामहे ॥ Why in the Yajus? Observe देवाञ्जिगाय सुम्नयुः ॥ Why do we say in the Kâṭhaka? Observe सुम्नयुरिदमासात् ॥

कव्यध्वरपृतनस्यर्चि लोपः ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ कवि, अध्वर, पृतनस्यः, ऋचि, लोपः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कवि अध्वर पृतना इत्येतेषामङ्गानां क्यचि परतो लोपो भवति ऋचि विषये ॥

39. In the Rig Veda, the final of कवि, अध्वर and पृतना is dropped before the Denominative क्यच् ॥

As कव्यन्तः सुमनसः (not in the Rig Veda), अध्वर्यन्तः (not in this case in the Rig Veda). पृतन्यन्तस्तिष्ठन्ति (not in this connection in the Rig. Veda). The examples given above are of Kâśikâ: according to Pro. Bohtlingk none of them are from the Rig Veda. The following are given by Bhattoji Dikshita in his Siddhanta Kaumudi: स पूर्वया निविदा कव्यतायोः (Rig I. 96. 2). अध्वर्युं वा मधुपाणिम् (Rig X. 41. 3), दमयन्तं पृतन्युम् ॥

द्यतिस्यतिमास्थामित्ति किति ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ द्यति, स्यति, मा, स्थाम्, इत्, ति, किति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्यति स्यति मा स्था इत्येतेषामङ्गानामिकारादेशो भवति तकारादौ किति प्रत्यये परतः ॥

40. Short इ is substituted for the final of दो, सो, मा and स्था, before an affix beginning with त् and having an indicatory क् ॥

As निर्दितः and निर्दितवान्; अवसितः and अवसितवान्, मितः and मितवान्; स्थितः and स्थितवान्, all with क्त and क्तवतु ॥ Why before त्? Observe अवदाय ॥ Why before a कित् affix? Observe अवदाता with तृच् ॥

शाछोरन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ शा, छोः, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शा छा इत्येतयोरन्यतरस्यामिकारादेशो भवति तकारादौ किति प्रत्यये परतः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ श्यतेरित्त्वं व्रते नित्यमिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

Kârikâ:—देवत्रातो गलो ग्राह इतियोगे च सद्विधिः ।
मिथस्ते न विभाष्यन्ते गवाक्षः संशितव्रतः ॥

41. Short इ is optionally substituted for the final of शा (शो) and छा (छो), before an affix beginning with त् and having an indicatory क ॥

As निशितं or निशातम्, निशितवान् or निशातवान्; अवच्छितं, अवच्छितवान् or अवच्छातं, अवच्छातवान् ॥ The शा *always* takes the इ when it means a vow: as संशितो ब्राह्मणः = संशितव्रतः ॥ The rule of this sûtra thus becomes a vyavasthita vibhâshâ. Other examples of such vyavasthita vibhâshâ are to be found in VIII. 2. 56, where त्रात and त्राण past participles are formed with त or ण, but त्रात is *only* employed in names as देवत्रातः &c, and never त्राण, while in denoting action both forms are valid: similarly by VIII. 2. 21, गल and गर are both formed, but गल *alone* is used when 'neck' is meant, and गर *alone* when 'poison' is indicated; optionally both when an action is meant. Similarly by III. 1. 143, ग्राह and ग्रह are formed, but ग्राहः is *only* used when 'a crocodile' is meant, and ग्रहः *alone* is employed when a 'planet' is indicated. Similarly the addition of the Present Participle affix शतृ and शानच् under III. 2. 126, is debarred when इति is added, as हन्ति इति पलायते, वर्षतीति धावति ॥ In all the above examples, the option though taught generically, should be limited to specific cases; as also in the examples गवाक्षः 'a window', and गोऽक्षम् 'cow's eye' (VI. 1. 123) and संशितव्रतः ॥ In short, we should limit a general vibhâshâ to a vyavasthita-vibhâshâ, on the maxim व्यवस्थितविभाषा विज्ञानात् सिद्धम् ॥

दधातेर्हिः ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ दधातेः, हिः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दधातेरङ्गस्य हीत्ययमादेशो भवति तकारादौ किति प्रत्यये परतः ॥

42. हि is substituted for धा (दधाति) before an affix beginning with त् and having an indicatory क ॥

As हितः, हितवत्, हित्वा ॥

जहातेश्च क्ति ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ जहातेः, च, क्ति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जहातेरङ्गस्य हीत्ययमादेशो भवति क्त्वाप्रत्यये परतः ॥

43. हि is substituted for हा (जहाति) before क्त्वा ॥

As हित्वा राज्यं वनम् गतः, हित्वा गच्छति ॥ The rule does not apply to हा जिहीते ॥ There we have हात्वा गतः ॥

विभाषा छन्दसि ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, छन्दसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जहातेरङ्गस्य विभाषा हीत्ययमादेशो भवति छन्दसि विषये क्त्वाप्रत्यये परतः ॥

44. हि is optionally substituted for हा before क्त्वा in the Chhandas.

As हित्वा शरीरं यातव्यं, or हात्वा also. The long ई of VI. 4. 62 does not take place also as a Vedic irregularity.

सुधितवसुधितनेमधितधिष्वधिषीय च ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुधित, वसुधित, नेमधित, धिष्व, धिषीय, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुधित वसुधित नेमधित धिष्व धिषीय इत्येतानि छन्दसि विषये निपात्यन्ते ॥

45. These five Vedic forms are irregularly formed, सुधित, वसुधित, नेमधित, धिषु and धिषीय ॥

Of these five, सुधित, वसुधित and नेमधित are formed from the root धा with the affix क्त, preceded by सु, वसु and नेम ॥ As गर्भं माता सुधितम् (= सुहितम्), वसुधितमग्नौ जुहोति (= वसुहितं), नेमधिता बाधन्ते (= नेमहिता) ॥ धिष्व is Imperative 2nd Per. Sg. of धा, there is no reduplication, as धिष्व सोमम् = धत्स्व ॥ धिषीय is Benedictive Atmanepada 1st Per. Sg. of धा, the regular form being धासीय ॥

दो दद् घोः ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ दः, दत्, घोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दा इत्येतस्य घुसंज्ञकस्य दत् इत्ययमादेशो भवति तकारादौ किति प्रत्यये परतः ॥

46. For दा, when it is a Ghu (I. 1. 20), there is substituted दद् before a कित् affix beginning with त ॥

As दत्तः, दत्तवान्, दत्तिः ॥ Why of दा? Observe धीतः, धीतवान् from धेट्; and the long ई is by VI. 4. 66. Why when it is a Ghu? Observe दातं बर्हिः from दाप् 'to cut', and अवदातं मुखं from दैप् "to cleanse'. The substitute is दथ् ending in थ, according to an *Ishti.*

Kârikâ:—तान्ते दोषो दीर्घत्वं स्याद्, दान्ते दोषो निष्ठा नत्वम्।
धान्ते दोषो धत्व प्राप्तिस्, थान्तेऽदोष स्तस्मात् थान्तम् ॥

If the substitute be दत् ending in त, then it would require the lengthening taught in VI. 3. 124. (N. B. The sûtra दस्ति should be interpreted as 'the vowel of the Preposition is lengthened before a substitute of दा which *ends* in त', in order to make this objection applicable. That sûtra however is capable of another interpretation). If the substitute be दद् ending in द then the Nishthâ त would be changed to न by VIII. 2. 42: as in भिद्+त= भिन्नः ॥ If the substitute be दध् ending in ध, then by VIII. 2. 40; the Nishthâ त would be changed to ध ॥ Hence the substitute is दथ् ॥ If

however, the sûtra VI. 3. 124, is interpreted as "the vowel of a preposition is lengthened before a substitute of दा which *begins* with त् ", then the substitute may be तत् also without any harm. Even if the substitute be तद् or तध्, the apprehended न् and ध् substitutions will not take place, on the maxim सन्निपातलक्षणो विधि रनिमित्तं तद्विघातस्य ॥

The following are exceptions to VII. 4. 47, अवदत्तं, विदत्तं, प्रदत्तं, सुदत्तं, अनुदत्तं and निदत्तं ॥ Or the words अव &c, here are not Upasargas. See I. 4. 57.

Kârikâ:—अवदत्तं विदत्तं च प्रदत्तं चादिकर्म्मणि ।
सुदत्तमनुदत्तं च निदत्तमिति चेष्यते ॥

The word आदिकर्मणि qualifies pradatta only. The word च shows that regular forms अवत्तं, वित्तं, प्रत्तं, &c also are valid.

अच उपसर्गात्तः ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अचः, उपसर्गात्, तः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अजन्तादुपसर्गादुत्तरस्य दा इत्येतस्य घुसंज्ञकस्य त इत्ययमादेशो भवति तकारादौ किति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अचेरित्वाश्चस्त इत्येतद्भवति विप्रतिषधेन ॥

47. त् is substituted for the ghu दा before a कित् affix beginning with त, when a Preposition ending in a vowel precedes it.

The examples under the present sûtra are प्रत्तं, अवत्तं, नीत्तं, परीत्तं ॥ For the lengthening see VI. 3, 124. Why do we say 'ending in a vowel'? Observe निर्दत्तम् दुर्दत्तम् ॥ Why 'after an Upasarga only''? Observe दधि दत्तम्, मधु दत्तम् ॥ Why 'the दा called Ghu'? Observe अवदातं मुखं from दैप् ॥

Obj. The word उपसर्गात् in the sûtra is in the Ablative case, and by I. 1. 67, the substitute त् should replace only the *first* letter of दा, how does it replace the *whole*?

Ans—The word अचः is to be repeated in the sûtra, one अचः being in the Ablative case and qualifying उपसर्गात्, and the other अचः being in the Genitive case, showing the sthânin to be आ, as "after an Upasarga ending in a vowel, त् is substituted *for the vowel* of दा". Or the word अस्य may be read into this sûtra from VII. 4. 32. Or उपसर्गात्त्तः consists of three त्'s, the substitute being त्त, and being a substitute of more than one letter, it replaces the *whole* of दा (I. 1. 55). In the following sûtra अपोभि, the अचः in the Ablative case is understood, and therefore त् replaces only प् ॥

Vârt:—After a Preposition ending in a vowel, त is substituted for दा (दो), when इ would have been substituted otherwise for its final by VII. 4. 40. As अवत्तम्, प्रत्तम् जुहोति and नीत्तं, वीत्तं ॥

अपो भि ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपः, भिः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अप् इत्येतस्याङ्गस्य भकारादौ प्रत्यये परतस्त इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

48. त् is substituted for the final of the stem अप् before a case-ending beginning with भ् ॥

As भद्भ्याम, भाङ्गः, भङ्गपः ॥ Why beginning with a भ? Observe भप्सु ॥

In the Veda, त् is substituted before भ, for the final of स्ववस्, from सु + अव् + असुन्; meaning शोभनमवंयेषां; स्वतवस् from the root तु meaning स्वं तवो येषां; मास and उषस्, as स्ववद्भिः, स्वतवद्भिः, माद्भिरिष्टा इन्द्रो वृत्रहा, सद्युषद्भिरजायथाः ॥ The word मास becomes मास् by VI. 1. 63.

सः स्यार्द्धधातुके ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ सः, सि, आर्द्धधातुके ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सकारान्तस्याङ्गस्य सकारादा वार्द्धधातुके परतस्तकारादेशो भवति ॥

49. त् is substituted for the final स् of a root before an Ârdhadhâtuka affix beginning with स् ॥

As वत्स्यति, अवत्स्यत, विवत्सति, जिघत्सति ॥ Why do we say 'when ending in स'? Observe वक्ष्यति ॥ Why do we say 'beginning with स'? Observe घासः, वासः ॥ Why an ârdhadhâtuka? Observe आस्से, वस्से, from आस् 'to sit' and वस् 'to cover'; both Adâdi roots.

तासस्त्योर्लोपः ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ तास्अस्त्योः, लोपः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तासेरस्तेश्च सकारस्य सकारादौ प्रत्यये लोपो भवति ॥

50. The final स् of तास् (the character of the second Future) and that of अस् 'to be', is elided before an affix beginning with स् ॥

As कर्त्तासि, कर्त्तासे, त्वमसि, व्यति से ॥ See VI. 4. 111. In से the अ and स् both of अस् have been elided, the अ by VI. 4. 111, and स् by the present sûtra, so that the mere suffix से remains, which however here is a finite verb: hence the स, is not changed to ष ॥ See VIII. 3. 111.

रि च ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ रि, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रेफादौ च प्रत्यये परतः तासस्त्योः सकारस्य लोपो भवति ॥

51. The स् of तास् and अस् is dropped before an affix beginning with a र् ॥

As कर्त्तारौ, कर्त्तारः, अध्येतारौ, अध्येतारः ॥ The स् of अस् 'to be' is elided in the Perfect, because it is there that a र् beginning affix can follow it. Thus व्यतिरे (See VI. 4. 111). According to the reading of Padamanjari, there can be no example of अस् ॥ अस्तेरुदाहरणं न प्रदर्शितं, रेफादेरसम्भवात् ॥

ह एति ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ हः, एति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तासस्त्योः सकारस्य हकारादेशो भवति एति परतः ॥

52. For the स् of तास् and अस् there is substituted ह before the personal-ending ए ॥

As कर्त्ताहे, and व्यतिहे from अस् ॥ See VI. 4. 111. The ह substitution does not take place before the Personal ending एश् (III. 4. 8), as एधामासे ॥ The reason of this is that the ए referred to in this sûtra, is that ए which can come after तास्; and that very ए should also come after अस् ॥ The ए that can

come after तास् is the 1st Person singular ए; and not this ए of the Perfect 3rd Person singular. Others say, this even sârvadhâtuka, and therefore not here श्वोऽहं त्वां प्रेक्षामासे ॥

यीवर्णयोर्दीधीवेव्योः ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ यि, इवर्णयोः, दीधी, वेव्योः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यकारादाविवर्णादौ च परतो दीधीवेव्योर्लोपो भवति ॥

53. The final of दीधी and वेवी falls before an affix beginning with य्, इ or ई ॥

Thus आदीध्य and आवेव्य गतः, आदीध्यते, and आवेव्यते before य ॥ आदीधितृ, आवेवितृ; आदीधीत and आवेवीत ॥ Why before य, इ or ई? Observe आदीध्यनम् and आवेव्यनम् ॥ The long ई in यी is a sûtra वैचित्र्य, for यिवर्णयोः would have been enough.

सनि मीमाघुरभलभशकपतपदामच इस् ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ सनि, मी, मा, घु, रभ, लभ, शक, पत, पदा म, अचः, इस् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सनि प्रत्यये सकारादौ परतो मी मा घु रभ लभ शक पत पद इत्येतेषामङ्गानामचः स्थाने इसित्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ सनि राधो हिंसायामच इस्वक्तव्यः ॥

54. इस् is substituted for the root-vowel of मी, मा, दा and धा (घु), रभ्, लभ्, शक्, पत् and पद् when the Desiderative सन् beginning with स् (i. e. not taking the augment इ) follows.

The मी includes मीनाति (Kryâdi 4), and मिनोति (मि of Svâdi 4) for मि assumes the form मी by VI. 4. 16 Thus मित्सति, प्रमित्सति ॥ The मा denotes all the roots which assume the form मा, on the maxim गामादा ग्रहणेष्वविशेषः "The terms गा, मा or दा when they are employed in Grammar denote both the original roots गा, मा and दा and also the roots which are changed to गा, मा and दा" ॥ They are मा and माङ माने, and मेङ् प्रणिदाने ॥ Thus मित्सते, अप मित्सते ॥ घु—दित्सति, धित्सति; रभ्—आरिप्सते, लभ्—आलिप्सते, शक्—शिक्षति, पत्—पित्सति, पद्—प्रपित्सते ॥ In the roots that end in a vowel, the स् of इस् is changed to त् by VII. 4. 49, and in the roots that end in a consonant, this स् is dropped, according to VIII. 2. 29. The reduplication falls by VII. 4. 58.

Why do we say 'when the Desiderative follows'? Observe दास्यति ॥ The word सि is understood here from VII. 4. 49, so the rule will not apply when the Desiderative takes the augment इट्, as प्र पतिपति ॥ Here पत् optionally takes इट् under the vârtika सनिपतिदरिद्राणामुपसंख्यानम् ॥

Vârt:—The इस् comes after the root-vowel of राध् in the Desiderative, when the sense is that of to injure. As प्रति रित्सति ॥ Why do we say when the sense is that of 'to injure'? Observe आरि रात्सति ॥

आप्ज्ञप्यृधामीत् ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आप्, ज्ञप्, ऋधाम्, ईत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आप ज्ञपि ऋध इत्येतेषामङ्गानामच ईकारादेशो भवति सनि सकारादौ परतः ॥

55. For the vowel of the roots आप्, ज्ञपि and ऋध् there is substituted long ई before the सन् of the Desiderative, when it begins with स् ॥

Thus आप्—ईप्सति, ज्ञपि—ज्ञीप्सति, ऋध्—ईर्त्सति (I. 1. 51.). The reduplication is dropped by VII. 4. 58. In the Causative stem ज्ञपि there are two vowels, the इ (णि) is dropped by pûrva-vipratishedha (the prior debarring the subsequent) according to VI. 4. 51, and ई substituted for अ according to the present sûtra. The word सन् is to be read into the sûtra, otherwise ज्ञापयति ॥ The सन् must begin with स् i.e. should not take the इट् augment, as in जिज्ञपयिषति, अर्दिधिषति ॥ The roots ज्ञपि and ऋध् are optionally सेट् in the Desiderative by VII. 2. 49.

दम्भ इच्च ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ दम्भः, इत्, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दम्भेरच इकारादेशो भवति चकारादीच सनि सकारादौ परतः ॥

56. For the vowel of the root दम्भ् there is substituted इ as well as ई before the सन् of the Desiderative, when it begins with स् ॥

As धीप्सति or धिप्सति ॥ But दिदम्भिषति before the सेट्सन् ॥ The reduplication falls off by VII. 4. 58.

मुचोऽकर्मकस्य गुणो वा ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ मुचः, अकर्मकस्य, गुणः वाः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मुचोऽकर्म्मकस्य गुणो वा भवति सनि सकारादौ परतः ॥

57. When मुच् has an Intransitive signification, Guṇa is optionally substituted for its vowel before the aniṭ सन् of the Desiderative.

By I. 2. 10, after a root ending in a consonant, the सन् is like कित् and does not cause Guṇa. The present sûtra ordains it optionally. As मोक्षते or मुमुक्षते वत्सः स्वयमेव ॥ In the Transitive there is one form only, as मुमुक्षति वत्सं देवदत्तः ॥ मुच् becomes Intransitive when it has a Reflexive significance, or when it expresses a mere action. The reduplication is elided by VII. 4. 58.

अत्र लोपोऽभ्यासस्य ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अत्र, लोपः, अभ्यासस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यदेतत्प्रक्रान्तं सनि मीमेत्यादि मुचोऽकर्मकस्य गुणोवेति यावत् अत्राभ्यासलोपो भवति ॥

58. The reduplicate is dropped under the circumstances mentioned in the foregoing sûtras VII. 4. 54 to VII. 4. 57.

The examples are given under the above-mentioned sûtras. The word 'of the reduplicate' अभ्यासस्य is to be supplied in all the subsequent sûtras upto the end of the chapter. Thus Sûtra VII. 4. 59, says 'a short is to be substituted', we must supply the words 'for the reduplicate' to com-

plete the sense: as डुढौकिषते, तुत्रौकिषते ॥ The word अच in the sûtra indicates that the reduplication is not to be elided, when an affix is treated *like* सन् but is not actually सन् ॥ Thus चङ्-Aorist is treated like सन् by VII. 4. 93; but the reduplication will not be dropped there: as अमीमपत्, अदीदपत् ॥ Some say the word अच here indicates that the *whole* of the reduplicate is dropped, and not only its final letter. Others elide the whole of the reduplicate on the maxim नानर्थकेऽलोऽन्त्यविधिः ॥ "The rule I. 1. 52, by which a substitute should take the place of only the final letter of that which is exhibited in the Genitive case, is not valid, where what is exhibited in the Genitive is meaningless".

ह्रस्वः ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ ह्रस्वः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ ह्रस्वो भवत्यभ्यासस्य ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अभ्यासस्यानचि ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ चरि चलि पति वदीनां वा द्वित्वमच्याक् चाभ्यासस्य इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

59. A short is substituted for the long vowel of the reduplicate.

As डुढौकिषते, तुत्रौकिषते, डुढौके, तुत्रौके, अडुढौकत्, अतुत्रौकत् ॥

Vârt:—The shortening takes place before affixes other than अच् (III. 1. 134). Before अच्, the roots चर्, चल्, पत् and वद् are reduplicated, and the augment आक् added to the reduplicate. See VI. 1. 12 Vârt. This augment when added to the reduplicate, is not to be shortened by this rule: and because this is not to be shortened, also indicates that the consonants of the reduplicate other than the first are also not dropped: as चराचरः, चलाचलः, पतापतः, वदावदः ॥

हलादिः शेषः ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ हल् आदिः, शेषः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अभ्यासस्य हलादिः शिष्यते अनादिर्लुप्यते ॥

60. Of the consonants of the reduplicate, only the first is retained, the remainders are dropped.

As जग्लौ, मम्लौ, पपाच, पपाठ, आट, आटतुः, आटुः ॥ This rule ordains the retention of the initial consonant, if any, and elision of the non-initials in the reduplicate. If the root begins with a vowel as अट्, there being no initial consonant, in अट् अट्, the ट् will be elided of course. The word हलादिः should not be construed as a Genitive Tatpurusha 'first among the consonants', for then in अक्ष्+लिट्=अक्ष् अक्ष्, the ष् only would be elided, and क् retained.

The word शेषः or शिष्यते here means अवस्थाप्यते 'is retained'. The word हलादिः is not a compound. For had it been a compound, then if it is a Karmadhâraya, the word आदि should stand first; if it be a Genitive compound then the first among compound consonants would be retined and we could not get the form आनक्ष from अक्ष. The word abhyâsa is to be taken in the sense of jâti or kind, i.e. in the jâti which is collectively called abhyâsa, the consonant that stands first in respect to abhyâsa, is retained, and not the consonant standing

in any other portion of it. So that all consonants, where ever they may be situate in the body of an abhyâsa, whether in the begnning or middle or end, are dropped, except one with which the abhyâsa begins. Thus if the abhyâsa begins with a simple consonant, it is retained; if it begins with a conjunct consonant, the first is only retained; and if the consonant or consonants are not in the beginning they are all dropped.

Others say, the word शेषः here means "retention along with the cessation of others". Therefore, though literally the word शेषः or retention appears to be the principal word in this sûtra, yet as a matter of fact, it is secondary, because the injunction is not with regard to retention, but with regard to cessation. The rule is not "Retain the first consonant"; but "Drop every consonant but the first, if there be a first consonant". Or the sûtras 59 and 60, may be combined and read thus: ह्रस्वोऽहल् "The abhyâsa becomes short and also without consonant". आदिःशेषः "The first consonant is retained". Or the sûtras may be divided thus:—

(1) 'A short vowel is substituted in the abhyâsa'.

(2) 'The consonants of abhyâsa are all elided'.

(3) The first is retained.

The sûtras 59 and 60 must be joined by sandhi "ह्रस्वोऽहलादिःशेषः", and then we shall be able to read an elided अ between ह्रस्व and हल्, as if it was a compound of ह्रस्व and अहल् ॥

शर्पूर्वाः खयः ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ शर्पूर्वाः, खयः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभ्यासस्य शर्पूर्वाः खयः शिष्यन्ते ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ खर्पूर्वाः खय इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

61. Of a reduplicate, the hard consonants (aspirate and unaspirate) when preceded by a sibilant, are only retained, the other consonants are elided.

As चुश्च्योतिषति, from śchyutir ksharaṇe, तिष्ठासति, पिस्पन्दिषते ॥ Why do we say 'when preceded by a sibilant'? Observe पपाच ॥ Why do we say hard consonants? Observe सस्नौ ॥

Vârt:—It should be said rather, a hard consonant preceded by a hard consonant or a sibilant is only retained: and the खर् consonants are elided: as in उच्चिच्छिषति, here उछ् becomes उच्छ् by the augment त् (तुक्); in the reduplicate the च् should be elided, and छ् retained out of च्छ; and not च् retained and छ् elided; for the च् represents त्, and if this were retained, it would be त् and not च् that would be heard: for by VIII. 2. 1, the change of त् to च् is asiddha for the purposes of this rule.

कुहोश्चुः ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुहोः, चुः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभ्यासस्य कवर्गहकारयोश्चवर्गादेशो भवति ॥

62. For the Guttural and ह् of a reduplicate there is substituted a Palatal.

As चकार, चखान, जगाम, जघान, जहार, जिहीर्षति, जह्रे ॥

न कवतेर्यङि ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, कवतेः, यङि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कवतेरभ्यासस्य यङि परतश्चुर्न भवति ॥

63. The Palatal is not substituted for the Guttural of the reduplicate of कु (कवते) in the Intensive.

As कोकूयते उष्ट्रः, कोकूयते खरः ॥ The कु here is कुङ् (Bhu. 999), and not कु 'to make sound' (Ad. 33, कौति), nor कुङ् (Tud. 108, कुवति) ॥ Of those two, we have चोकूयते ॥ Why do we say in the Intensive? Observe चुकुवे ॥

कृषेश्छन्दसि ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृषेः, छन्दसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृषेश्छन्दसि विषये यङि परतोऽभ्यासस्य चुर्न भवति ॥

64. The Palatal is not substituted for the Guttural of the reduplicate of कृष् in the Veda, when in the Intensive.

As करीकृष्यते यज्ञकुणपः ; otherwise चरीकृष्यते कृषीवलः ॥

दाधर्तिदर्धर्तिदर्धर्षिबोभूतुतेतिक्तेऽलर्ष्यापनीफणत्संसनिष्यदत्करिक्रत्कनिक्रदद्भरिभ्रद्दविध्वतो दविद्युतत्तरित्रतः सरीसृपतंवरीवृजन्मर्मृज्यागनीगन्तीति च ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ दाधर्ति, दर्धर्ति, दर्धर्षि, बोभूतु, तेतिक्ते, अलर्षि, आपनीफणत्, संसनि ष्यदत्, करिक्रत् कनिक्रदत्, भरिभ्रत्, दविध्वतः, दविद्युतत्, तरित्रतः, सरीसृपतम्, वरीवृजत्, मर्मृज्य, आगनी गन्ति, इति, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दाधर्ति दर्धर्ति दर्धर्षि बोभूतु तेतिक्ते अलर्षि आपनीफणत् संसनिष्यदत् करिक्रत् कनिक्रदत् भरिभ्रत् दविध्वतः दविद्युतत् तरित्रतः सरीसृपतं वरीवृजत् मर्मृज्य आगनीगन्ति इत्येतानि अष्टादश छन्दसि विषये निपात्यन्ते ॥

65. In the Veda are found the following eighteen irregularly reduplicated forms:—1 dâdharti, 2 dardharti, 3 dardharshi, 4 bobhûtu, 5 tetikte, 6 alarshi, 7 â panîphaṇat, 8 sam sanishyadat. 9 karikrat, 10 kanikradat, 11 bharibhrat, 12 davidhvataḥ, 13 davidyutat, 14 taritrataḥ, 15 sarîsṛpatam, 16 varîvṛjat, 17 marmṛjya and 18 â ganîganti.

The word छन्दसि is drawn in to this sûtra, by force of च ॥ The form दाधर्ति, is either from the Causative of the root धृङ् अवस्थाने or from धृञ्, in the श्लु or यङ् लुक्, there is lengthening of the abhyâsa and elision of णि ॥ (2) So also दर्धर्ति is the form in ślu, with रुक् augment of the abhyâsa. (3) दर्धर्षि if it be a form of यङ् लुक्, there is no irregularity. (4) बोभूतु is from भू in the Intensive (यङ् लुक्), Imperative, irregularly without guṇa. Q. There is no necessity of including this, because there would be no guṇa regularly even under VII. 3.

88? Ans. The inclusion of चोभूयु is a jñâpaka, indicating that in every other case, the guṇa is not prohibited in the Intensive (यङ् लुक्), as लोभोति, लोभवीति (लट् with ईट् VII. 3. 94) (5) तेतिक्ते is from तिज् in the Intensive yaṇ luk, âtmanepada is irregular. Q. The यङ् is ङित् and therefore by pratyaya lakshaṇa rule (I. 1. 62) read with I. 3. 12, the यङ् लुक् will be âtmanepadi, where is the necessity of reading this nipâtan? Ans. The âtmanepada nipâtan is a jñapaka, that in the Intensive yaṇ luk the âtmanepada affixes are not employed. (6) अलर्षि is from the root ऋ (इयर्ति), in Present, 2nd Person, the र् of abhyâsa is not elided, though required by VII. 4. 60, and this र् is changed to ल irregularly. This form is found in the 3rd Person also, as अलर्ति दक्षः ॥ (7) आ पनीफणत् is from फण् with आ augment, and शतृ affix is added to यङ् लुक्, and in the reduplicate नी is added. (8) संसनिष्यदत् is from स्यन्द् with the Preposition सम्, in the Intensive yaṇ luk, with शतृ affix, नि being added in the abhyâsa, the root स is changed to ष ॥ The Preposition सं is not absolutely necessary, with other Prepositions also we have this form, as आ सनिष्यदत् ॥ (9) करिक्रत् is from कृ (करोति), in the Intensive yaṇ luk, with शतृ, in the abhyâsa there is no palatal change (VII. 4.62), and रि is added to the reduplicate. (10) कनिक्रदत् from क्रन्द् in the Aorist with अङ्, reduplication, there is no chutva (VII. 4. 62) of the reduplicate, and the augment नि is added. In the secular literature, the form is अक्रन्दीत् ॥ (11) भरिभ्रत् from भृ (बिभर्ति) in yaṇ luk with शतृ, without इ of VII. 4. 76, without jaśtva, and रि is added to the reduplicate. (12) दविध्वतः from ध्वृ (ध्वरते) in the yaṇ luk, śatṛ, plural number Nominative. The वि is added to the reduplicate, the ऋ is elided, दविध्वतः रश्मयः सूर्यस्य ॥ (13) दविद्युतत् is from dyut, yaṇ luk with śatṛ, there is no vocalisation of the reduplicate, with अ change and वि augment, (14) तरित्रतः from तृ (तरति) with ślu, śatṛ, genitive singular: and रि added to abhyâsa. (15) सरीसृपत् from सृप् with ślu, śatṛ, Accusative with री added to abhyâsa. (16) वरीवृजत् from वृज् with ślu, śatṛ and री augment. (17) मर्मृज्य from मृज् with लिट् (Perfect) णल्, रु added to abhyâsa, and य added to the root, and there is no vṛiddhi, because there is no short penultimate now. In fact VII. 2. 114 is to be qualified by the words लघूपध from VII. 3. 86. (18) आ गनीगन्ति is from गम् with the Preposition आ, in the Perfect, with ślu, there is no chutva (VII. 4. 62), and augment नी is added. ब्रह्मणी वेदा गनीगन्ति कर्णम् ॥

The word इति in the aphorism indicates that other forms, similar to these, are also to be included.

उरत् ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ उः, अत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋवर्णान्तस्याभ्यासस्याकारादेशो भवति ॥

66. अत् (I. 1. 51) is substituted for the ऋ or ॠ of the reduplicate.

As ववृते, ववृधे, शशृधे, मर्मर्ति, मरिमर्ति मरीमर्ति ॥ The र् is elided by VII. 4. 60. In the Intensives VII. 4. 90 &c, are applied, by which after the substitution of अत्

by the present sûtra, we apply those sûtras and add तिक स्क. रिक्र &c: for the maxim is अभ्यासविकारेषु अपवादो नोत्सर्गान् विधीन् बाधते "so far as the changes of a reduplicative syllable are concerned special (apavâda) rules do not supersede the general (utsarga) rules".

द्युतिस्वाप्योः, संप्रसारणम् ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्युतिः स्वाप्योः, सम्प्रसारणम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्युति स्वापि इत्येतयोरभ्यासस्य संप्रसारणं भवति ॥

67. There is vocalisation of the half-vowel of the reduplicate of द्युत् and स्वापि (Causative of स्वप्) ॥

As वि दिद्युतत्, वि दिद्योतिषते, वि दिद्युतिषते, (I. 2. 26) वि देद्युत्यते ॥ स्वापि—सुष्वापयिषति ॥ The Causative of स्वप् is taken here, and the vocalisation takes place then only, when it is immediately followed by an affix which causes reduplication. Therefore not here, स्वापि + ण्वुल् = स्वापकः ; स्वापक + क्यच् = स्वापकीय, स्वापकीय + सन् = सिस्वापकीयिषति ॥

The simple root स्वप् will get vocalised in its reduplicate by VI. 1. 15, 17 in the Perfect. The Desiderative of स्वप् is कित् by I. 2. 8, and therefore the reduplicate of स्वप् will be vocalised before सन् by VI. 1. 15. The reduplicate of स्वप् will be vocalised in the Intensive also by VI. 1. 19.

Quere:—Does the reduplicate of the Desiderative of the Denominative verb द्योतकीयति get vocalised or not.

व्यथो लिटि ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ व्यथः, लिटि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ व्यथेर्लिटि परतोऽभ्यासस्य संप्रसारणं भवति ॥

68. There is vocalisation of the half-vowel of the reduplicate of व्यथ् in the Perfect.

As विव्यथे, विव्यथाते, विव्यथिरे ॥ This ordains the vocalisation of य, which otherwise would have been elided as being a non-initial consonant (VII. 4. 60). The vocalisation of व् is prevented by VI. 1. 37. Why do we say in the Perfect? Observe वाव्यथ्यते ॥

दीर्घ इणः किति ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ दीर्घः, इणः, किति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इणोऽङ्गस्य योऽभ्यासस्तस्य दीर्घो भवति किति लिटि परतः ॥

69. A long vowel is substituted in the reduplicate of the root इ (पति), before a Personal ending of the Perfect, which has an indicatory क् ॥

As ईयतुः, ईयुः ॥ These are thus formed इ + अतुस् = य् + अतुः (य् substituted for इ by VI. 4. 81). Then there is reduplication, the य becomes sthânivat to इ by I. 1. 59, and we have इ य् + अतुः and then by the present rule ईयतुः ॥ Why do we say before a कित् affix? Observe इयाय, इययिथ ॥

अत आदेः ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ अतः, आदेः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभ्यासस्यादेरकारस्य दीर्घो भवति लिटि परतः ॥

70. A long vowel is substituted in the Perfect for the initial अ of a reduplicate.

This debars the single substitute of the form of the subsequent ordained by VI. 1. 97. Thus आट, आटतुः, आटुः ॥ Why do we say 'the *initial*'? Observe पपाच and पपाठ ॥ Thus अट्+अतुः=अट् अट्+अतुः=अ अट्+अतुः=आ अट्+अतुः ॥

तस्मान्नुड् द्विहलः ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्मात्, नुट्, द्वि-हलः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्मात्तोऽभ्यासाद्दीर्घीभूतादुत्तरस्य द्विहलोऽङ्गस्य नुडागमो भवति ॥

71. After such a lengthened आ of the reduplicate, there is added the augment नुट् (न्) to the short अ of the root which ends in a double consonant.

As from अञ्च्—आ अञ्च्=आन् अञ्च्, which with the affixes of the Perfect gives us, आनञ्च, आनञ्चतुः, आनञ्चुः ॥ From अञ्ज्—आनञ्ज, आनञ्जतुः, आनञ्जुः ॥ Why do we say 'containing two consonants'? Observe आट, आटतुः, आटुः ॥

With regard to नुट् augment, ऋ is considered like र्, as आनृधतुः, आनृधुः ॥ This proceeds on a vârtika to be found under the Pratyâhâra sûtra ऐ औच् ॥ The vârtika is नुड्विधि—लादेश—विनामासु ऋकारे प्रतिविधातव्यं ॥ The examples of लादेश are क्लृप्तः, क्लृप्तवान्; (See VIII. 2. 18) and of विनाम are कर्तृणाम् and भर्तृणाम् ॥

अश्नोतेश्च ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अश्नोतेः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अद्विहलर्थ आरम्भः ॥ अश्नोतेश्च दीर्घीभूतादभ्यासादुत्तरस्य नुडागमो भवति ॥

72. After the lengthened आ of the reduplicate of अश् (अश्नोति), comes the augment नुट् (न्) before the short अ of the root in the Perfect.

This applies to a case where the root does not contain a double consonant. Thus व्यानशे, व्यानशाते, व्यानशिरे ॥ The rule applies to अश् (Svâdi 18) and not to अश् (Kryâdi 51); there we have आश, आशतुः, आशुः ॥

भवतेरः ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ भवतेः, अः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भवतेरभ्यासस्याकारादेशो भवति लिटि परतः ॥

73. अ is substituted for the vowel of the reduplicate of भू in the Perfect.

As बभूव, बभूवतुः, बभूवुः, बभूवे ॥ Why do we say 'in the Perfect'? Observe बुभूषति and बोभूयते ॥

The word भवतेः is shown in the sûtra in the Active Voice, therefore the rule will not apply to Passive and Reflexive forms; as अनुबुभूवे कम्बलो देवदत्तेन ॥ This opinion of Kâśikâ, however, is not endorsed by later Grammarians

ससूवेति निगमे ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ ससूव, इति, निगमे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ससूव इति निपात्यते सूतेर्लिटि परस्मैपदं वुगागमो ऽभ्यासस्य चात्वं निपात्यते ॥

74. In the Veda ससूव is irregularly formed in the Perfect.

It is derived from सू ॥ Thus ससूव स्थविरं विपश्चिताम् otherwise सुषुवे ॥ Rig. IV. 18 10.

This word ससूव might well have been included in sûtra VII. 4. 65.

निजां त्रयाणां गुणः श्लौ ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ निजाम्, त्रयाणाम्, गुणः, श्लौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निजादीनां त्रयाणामभ्यासस्य गुणो भवति श्लौ सति ॥

75. Guṇa is substituted for the vowel of the reduplicate, in the Reduplicated Present form (श्लु) of निज्, विज् and विष् ॥

Thus नेनेक्ति, वेवेक्ति, वेवेष्टि ॥ The word त्रयाणां could have been spared in this sûtra, as these three roots stand at the end of a subdivision, and निजां would have denoted these three without the word trayâṇâm. The word is however used here for the sake of the subsequent sûtra. Why do we say in the reduplicated Present form? Observe निनेज in the Perfect.

भृञामित् ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ भृञाम्, इत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भृञादीनां त्रयाणामभ्यासस्येकारादेशो भवति श्लौ सति ॥

76. In the Reduplicated Present-form of the three roots भृ, मा (माङ्) and हा (ओहाङ्), इ is substituted for the vowel of the reduplicate.

As बिभर्त्ति, मिमीते, (VI. 4. 113) जिहीते ॥ The word 'three' is understood here, therefore not in ओहाक्—जहाति ॥ The rule applies in the Reduplicated Present system (श्लु) only: therefore not in बभार ॥

अर्त्तिपिपर्त्योश्च ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अर्त्ति-पिपर्त्योः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अर्त्ति पिपर्त्ति इत्येतयोरभ्यासस्येकारादेशो भवति श्लौ ॥

77. इ is substituted for the vowel of the reduplicate of ऋ and पृ in the Reduplicated Present-form.

As इयर्त्ति (VI. 4. 78) भूमम्, पिपर्त्ति सोमम् ॥

बहुलं छन्दसि ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुलम्, छन्दसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये ऽभ्यासस्य श्लौ बहुलमिकारादेशो भवति ॥

78. इ is diversely substituted in the Veda, for the vowel of the reduplicate, in the Reduplicated Present-form.

As पूर्णां विवष्टि (from वश्), अनिमा विवक्ति (from वच्), वत्सं न माता सिषक्ति (from सच्), and जिघर्त्ति सोमम् ॥ But also वशाति, जजनम्, दधनत् as in वशातीयेवं ब्रवात्; जजनमिन्द्रं माता यद्वीरं दधनद् धनिष्टा ॥ All these three roots belong to Juhotyâdi class.

सन्यतः ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ सनि, अतः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सनि परतोकारान्ताभ्यासस्येकारादेशो भवति ॥

79. इ is substituted for the final short अ of the reduplicate in the Desiderative.

As पिपक्षति, यियक्षति, (VIII. 2. 36, 41) तिष्ठासति, पिपासति ॥ Why do we say in the Desiderative? Observe पपाच ॥ Why do we say "for the अ"? Observe लुलूषति ॥ Why do we say 'short अ'? Observe पापचिषते the Desiderative of the Intensive पापच्यते ॥

ओः पुयण्ज्यपरे ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ ओः, पु-यण्-जि-अपरे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सनीति वर्त्तते इदिति च ॥ उवर्णान्ताभ्यासस्य पवर्गे यणि जकारे चावर्णपरे परत इकारादेशो भवति सनि प्रत्यये परतः ॥

80. इ is substituted for the final उ or ऊ of a reduplicate, before a labial, a semi-vowel and before ज्, when अ or आ follows these consonants, in the Desiderative.

The word पु - यण् - जि is the Locative singular of the samâhâra dvandva compound of those three words—पु, यण् and ज् ॥ The samâsânta affix टच् (V. 4. 106) does not come, as these affixes are anitya. The word अ - परे means that after which is the letter अ ॥

Thus: 1. Labial:—पिपविषते, पिपावयिषति, बिभावयिषति ; 2. Semi-vowel:—यियविषति, यियावयिषति, रिरावयिषति, लिलावयिषति ; 3. ज—जिजावयिषति from the root जु ॥

The word पिपविषते is from पू which gets इट् augment in सन् (VII. 2. 74), then there is guṇa, and अव् substitutions, but these latter being sthanivat for reduplication (I. 1. 59), पू is doubled: and for ऊ there is substited इ by the present sûtra. पिपावयिषति is the Desiderative of the Causative of पू ॥ बिभावयिषति is the Desiderative of the Causative of भू ॥ यियविषति is the Desiderative of यु 'to mix', which is सेट् by VII. 2. 49. यियावयिषति is the Desiderative of the Causative of this root. The words रिरावयिषति and लिलावयिषति are the Desiderative of the Causatives of रौति and लुनाति ॥

This sûtra indicates the existence of the following maxim:—अद्विर्वचन निमित्तेऽपि णौ स्थानिवद् भवति, "though not the cause of reduplication, the substitute which takes place when णि follows, becomes like the original". Thus in बिभावयिषति we have भावि + सन् from भू + णि + सन्, here the आव् substitute caused by णि is sthânivat to ऊ, otherwise there would be no उ in the reduplicate to be operated upon by the present sûtra. See VI. 1. 31 also. Why do we say "for the उ or ऊ"? Observe पापच्यते, the Desiderative of which will be पापचिषते ॥ Why do we say "followed by a labial, semi-vowel or ज'? Observe अव नुनावयिषति, according to Padamanjari it is अव तुता वयिषति from the sautra root तु ॥ जुहावयिषति ॥ Why do we say 'when these consonants are followed by an अ'? Observe बुभूषति ॥

स्रवतिशृणोतिद्रवतिप्रवतिप्लवतिच्यवतीनां वा ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्रवति-शृणोति-द्रवति-प्रवति-प्लवति-च्यवतीनाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्रवति शृणोति द्रवति प्रवति प्लवति च्यवति इत्येतेषामभ्यासस्य ओरवर्णपरे यणि वा इकारादेशो भवति सनि परतः ॥

81. इ is optionally substituted for the final उ of the reduplicate of स्रु, श्रु, द्रु, प्रु, प्लु and च्यु when the semi-vowel is followed by अ or आ in the Desiderative.

Thus सिस्रावयिषति or सुस्रावयिषति ; शिश्रावयिषति or शुश्रावयिषति ; दिद्रावयिषति or दुद्रावयिषति ; पिप्रावयिषति or पुप्रावयिषति ; पिप्लावयिषति or पुप्लावयिषति ; चिच्यावयिषति or चुच्यावयिषति ॥ All these are Desideratives of the Causatives of the above roots. Here though a letter like स्, श्, द् &c, intervenes between the semi-vowel and the preceding उ of the reduplicate, yet the substitution takes place owing to the express text of this sûtra. In the preceding aphorism, the semi-vowel followed *immediately* after the उ of the reduplicate. The option of the present sûtra is, therefore, an aprâpta-vibhâshâ. The word अपरे is understood here also: therefore not in सुस्रूषति, शुश्रूषति ॥

गुणो यङ्लुकोः ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ गुणः, यङ्-लुकोः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ यङि यङ्लुकि च इगन्तस्याभ्यासस्य गुणो भवति ॥

82. Guṇa is substituted for the इ and उ (with their long) of a reduplicate, when the Intensive character यङ् follows and also when it is elided.

Thus चेचीयते, लोलूयते with यङ्, and जोहवीति with यङ् लुक् ॥ The ईट् is added in the latter by VII. 3. 94. So also चोक्रुशीति from क्रुश् (VII. 3. 94 and 87).

दीर्घोऽकितः ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ दीर्घः, अकितः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अकितोऽभ्यासस्य दीर्घो भवति यङि यङ्लुकि च परतः ॥

83. A long vowel is substituted for the अ of the reduplicate in the Intensive (with expressed or elided यङ्), when the reduplicate receives no augment having an indicatory क् ॥

The reduplicate receives augments like नीक्, नुक् by the following sûtras. Thus पापच्यते, and पापचीति, यायज्यते and यायजीति ॥ Why do we say "when it gets no augment'? Observe यंयम्यते, यंयमीति, रंरम्यते, रंरमीति ॥

Obj:—When the न् augment is added, the reduplicate will end in a consonant, and as it does not end in a vowel, there will be no occasion for lengthening; hence the employment of the term अकितः is useless.

Ans.—The employment of this term by the Achârya indicates the existence of the following maxim: अभ्यासविकारेष्वपवादा नोत्सर्गान् विधीन् बाधन्ते "so far as changes of a reduplicative syllable are concerned, rules which teach those changes do not supersede one another". What is the necessity of this

indication (jñâpaka)? Observe डोढौक्यते, here the rule of lengthening of this sûtra, does not supersede, though it is subsequent, the rule of shortening in VII. 4. 59; so the diphthong औ is shortened to उ, and it is then guṇated by VII. 4. 82. Secondly observe अचीकरत्, here इ is substituted in the reduplicate by VII. 4. 79 plus 93, and then this is lengthened by VII. 4. 94, the latter not superseding the former. Thirdly observe मीमांसते &c, where in मान्+सन् (III. 1. 6), the reduplicate is lengthened, but that does not prevent the इ of VII. 4. 79. Fourthly observe अजीगणत्, where the ई substitute (VII. 4. 97) does not supersede the sûtra VII. 4. 60, by which the ण् of गण् is elided.

नीग्वञ्चुस्रंसुध्वंसुभ्रंसुकसपतपदस्कन्दाम् ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ नीक्, वञ्चु-स्रंसु ध्वंसु-भ्रंसु-कस-पत-पद्-स्कन्दाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वञ्चु स्रंसु ध्वंसु भ्रंसु कस पत पद स्कन्द इत्येतेषामभ्यासस्य नीगागमो भवति यङि यङ्लुकि च ॥

84. The augment नीक् is added to the reduplicate of the Intensive (with the expressed or elided यङ्) in the following:—वञ्च्, स्रंस्, ध्वंस्, भ्रंश्, कस्, पत्, पद् and स्कन्द् ॥

Thus वनीवच्यते and वनीवञ्चीति; सनीस्रस्यते and सनीस्रंसीति; दनीध्वस्यते and दनीध्वंसीति; बनीभ्रस्यते and बनीभ्रंसीति, (बनीभ्रश्यते and बनीभ्रंशीति), चनीकस्यते and चनीकसीति; पनीपत्यते and पनीपतीति, पनीपद्यते and पनीपदीति; चनीस्कद्यते and चनीस्कन्दीति ॥ The nasal is elided in one alternative by VI. 4. 24.

नुगतोनुनासिकान्तस्य ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ नुक्, अतः, अनुनासिक-अन्तस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुनासिकान्तस्याङ्गस्य योभ्यासस्तस्याकारान्तस्य नुगागमो भवति यङ्यङ्लुकोः परतः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ पदान्तवच्चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

85. The augment नुक् (न्) is added after the short अ of a reduplicate in the Intensive (with or without यङ्), when the root ends in a Nasal.

As तन्तन्यते and तन्तनीति; जङ्गम्यते and जङ्गमीति, यंयम्यते and यंयमीति; रंरम्यते and रंरमीति ॥ The augment न् here should be considered as anusvâra, because an âdeśa is indicated by the nature of the sthânin which is replaced; and therefore in यंयम्यते, it remains anusvâra. Had it been न्, it could not have been changed to anusvâra in यंयम्यते, रंरम्यते (See VIII. 3. 24). In तन्तन्यते &c, the anusvâra is changed to न्, ङ् &c, by VIII. 4. 58; the other forms तंतन्यते तंतनीति, जंगम्यते, जंगमीति are derived by the following:—

Vârt:—This anusvâra should be treated as if it was at the end of a Pada or word. That being so, VIII. 4. 59 applies, and we have the anusvâra unchanged, as in तंतन्यते &c.

Why do we say "after a short अ"? Observe तेतिम्यते ॥ The त् in अत् indicates that the augment will not be added to a reduplicate which once was long आ but became short by VII. 4. 59 as from भाम 'to be angry', is बाभाम्यते.

(the second lengthening takes place by VII. 4. 83). Why do we say ending in a nasal? Observe पापच्यते ॥

जपजभदहदशभञ्जपशां च ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ जप-जभ-दह-दश-भञ्ज-पशाम्, च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ जप जभ दह दश भञ्ज पश इत्येतेषामभ्यासस्य नुगागमो भवति यङ्यङ्लुकोः परतः ॥

86. The augment नुक् comes after the reduplicates of जप, जभ, दह, दश, भञ्ज, and पश in the Intensive (with or without यङ्)॥

Thus जंजप्यते and जंजपीति ; जंजभ्यते and जंजभीति, दंदह्यते and दंदहीति ; दंदश्यते and दंदशीति ॥ The root is दंश्, but it is exhibited in the sûtra as दश, showing that even in यङ् लुक्, the root loses its nasal. Similarly बंभज्यते and बंभजीति, and पंपश्यते and पंपशीति ॥ This last is a sautra root.

चरफलोश्च ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ चर-फलोः, च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ चर फल इत्येतयोरभ्यासस्य नुगागमो भवति यङ्यङ्लुकोः परतः ॥

87. The augment नुक् comes after the reduplicate of चर् and फल् in the Intensive (with or without यङ्) ॥

Thus चंचूर्यते and चंचूरीति (the lengthening of उ is by VIII. 2. 77) पंफुल्यते and पंफुलीति ॥ See the following sûtra.

उत्परस्यातः ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ उत्, परस्य, अतः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ चरफलोरभ्यासात्परस्यात उकारादेशो भवति यङ्यङ्लुकोः परतः ॥

88. For the subsequent अ (i. e. for the अ of the root and not of the reduplicate), there is substituted उ in the Intensive (with or without यङ्) of चर् and फल् ॥

The examples have been given above, as चंचूर्यते, चंचूरीति and पंफुल्यते पंफुलीति ॥ Why do we say 'the अ which stands subsequent to the reduplicate'? The substitute does not replace the अ of the reduplicate. Why do we say 'of अ'? The substitute should not replace the final letter, which it otherwise would have done by I. 1. 52. The त् in उत् debars guṇa (VII. 3. 86) in चंचूर्ति and पंफुलीति, for though उ is lengthened by VIII. 2. 77, in चंचूर्ति, yet that lengthening is considered as non-existent or asiddha (VIII. 2. 1) for the purposes of Guṇa (VII. 3. 86). *Quere.* If the त् in उत् debars guṇa, why should it not debar lengthening also of VIII. 2. 77?

ति च ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ ति, च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ तकारादौ प्रत्यये परतश्चरफलोरकारस्य उकारादेशो भवति ॥

89. उ is substituted for the vowel of चर् and फल् before an affix beginning with त ॥

Thus चूर्तिः (= चरणं or भ्रमणः), प्रफुल्तिः and प्रफुल्ताः ॥ The anuvṛitti of यङ् लुकोरभ्यासस्य does not apply here, though present. See VIII. 2. 55.

रीगृदुपधस्य च ॥ ९० ॥ पदानि ॥ रीक्, ऋत्-उपधस्य, च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ ऋदुपधस्याङ्गस्य योऽभ्यासस्तस्य रीगागमो भवति यङ्लुकोः परतः ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ रीगृत्वत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

90. The reduplicate of a root, which has a ऋ in the penultimate position, gets the augment री in the Intensive (with or without यङ्) ॥

As वरीवृत्यते and वरीवृतीति, वरीवृध्यते and वरीवृधीति, नरीनृत्यते and नरीनृतीति ॥

Vârt:—It should be rather stated 'a root which contains a ऋ': when यङ् follows, whether this ऋ be of upadeśa, or obtained by samprasâraṇa, so that the augment may come in वरीवृश्च्यते and वरीवृश्चीति where the ऋ is of vocalisation, and not penultimate also.

रुग्रिकौ च लुकि ॥ ९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ रुक्-रिकौ, च, लुकि ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ यङ्लुकि ऋदुपधस्याङ्गस्य योऽभ्यासस्तस्य रुग्रिकावागमौ भवतश्चकाराद्रीक्च ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ मर्मृज्यते मर्मृज्यमानास इत्युपसंख्यानम् ॥

91. The augments रीक्, रुक् and रिक् come after the reduplicate of a root which has a ऋ in the penultimate, only when the यङ् of the Intensive is elided.

Thus नर्नर्ति, नरिनर्ति, and नरीनर्ति; वर्वर्ति, वरिवर्ति, वरीवर्ति ॥ The उ in रुक् is for the sake of pronunciation, the augment is र् ॥

Vârt:—मर्मृज्यते and मर्मृज्यमानासः should also be enumerated. These have taken रुक् augment, though the यङ् is not elided here.

ऋतश्च ॥ ९२ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋतः, च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ ऋकारान्तस्याङ्गस्य योऽभ्यासस्तस्य रुग्रिकावागमौ भवतो रीक्चयङ्लुकि ॥

Kârikâ:—किरति चर्करीतान्तं पचतीत्यत्र यो नयेत् ।
प्राप्तिज्ञं तमहं मन्ये प्रारब्धस्तेन संग्रहः ॥

92. The reduplicate of a root, which ends in short ऋ, gets, in the Intensive without यङ्, the above augments री, र्, and रि ॥

Thus चर्कर्ति, चरिकर्ति, and चरीकर्ति, जर्हर्ति, जरिहर्ति and जरीहर्ति ॥ Why do we say 'which ends in a *short* ऋ'? The rule does not apply to roots ending in long ॠ as, चाकर्ति, चाकीर्तः, चाकिरति from कॄ ॥ The word ऋतः qualifies the word अङ्ग and not the word अभ्यास, for an abhyâsa is always short, so the त् in ऋत् would become meaningless if the word qualified reduplicate. Therefore कॄ ending in long ॠ does not get री, र् and रि augments in the reduplicate.

Kârikâ:—He who can conjugate, in the Present tense, the yaṇ-luk Intensive of कॄ and of other roots ending in long ॠ, is considered by me to be a person who has attained to the right knowledge of the employment of the

augments इ, री, रि &c: and he has obtained the right use of words.

The word किरति in the Kârikâ is illustrative of all roots like कॄ (किरति) ending in long ॠ ॥ चर्करीत is the name given to the यङ् लुक् form of the Intensive, by ancient grammarians. चर्करीतान्त means, therefore, a form ending in yań-luk. पचति is illustrative of लट् or Present tense.

सन्वल्लघुनि चङ्परेऽनग्लोपे ॥ ९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ सन्वत्, लघुनि, चङ्-परे, अन्, अग्लोपे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लघुनि धात्वक्षरे परतो योऽभ्यासस्तस्य चङ्परे णौ परतः सनीव कार्यं भवति अनग्लोपे ॥

93. In the reduplicated Aorist of the Causative, the reduplicate adapts itself to that of the Desiderative, when the vowel of the root is light, and the root has not lost its end-vowel before the Causative affix.

The words of this sûtra require a little detailed explanation. The word सन्वत् means "like unto सन् or Desiderative"; i. e. as the Desiderative is treated, so should the चङ् Aorist of the Causative. The words लघुनि and चङ्परे are both in the Locative case, but not in apposition with each other, but refer to different objects. लघुनि means 'when a light vowel follows', namely that reduplicate which is followed by the light root-vowel. The operations to be performed on such a reduplicate, in the चङ् Aorist, after the णि are the same, as on the reduplicate of the Desiderative. अन्-अक्-लोपे "provided that a simple vowel of the Pratyâhâra अक् has not beed elided". We read the word 'causative' into this sûtra, because there can be no other root which will form चङ् Aorist. Causatives form such Aorist. (III. 1. 48), as well as the simple roots श्रि, द्रु and स्रु ॥ The words चङ्परे qualifies the word अङ्ग understood: that *stem* which is followed by चङ्; therefore, it refers to the Causative *stem*, and not to the simple roots śri, dru and sru. The *light* vowel, therefore refers, to the light vowel of the *Causative stem* before चङ् ॥

The word अनग्लोपे is in apposition with चङ्परे ॥ Thus कम+णिङ् (III. 1. 30).=अकामि+इ+अत् (III. 1. 48)=अकामि+अत् (VI. 4. 51)=अकम्+अत् (VII.4.1) =अचकम्+अत् (VI. 1. 11)=अचिकम्+अत् (VII. 4. 79 read with VII. 4. 93)=अचीकमत् (VII. 4. 94).

Thus VII. 4. 79 teaches the substitution of इ for अ in the reduplicate of the Desiderative. The same substitution will take place in the reduplicate of the Aorist: as अचीकरत्, अपीपचत् ॥ Thus by VII. 4. 80, इ is substituted for the उ of the reduplicate in the Desiderative, the same will be the case in the reduplicate of the Aorist, as अपीपवत् and अलीलवत्, and अजीजवत् ॥ Thus by VII. 4. 81, इ is optionally substituted for उ in the Desiderative reduplicate of स्रु &c, the same will hold good in the Aorist-reduplicate, as असिस्रवत् or असुस्रवत्, अशिश्रवत्

or अशुश्रवत्, अशिश्रवत् or अशुश्रवत्, अपिप्रवत् or अपुप्रवत्, अपिप्लवत् or अपुप्लवत्, अचिच्यवत् or अचुच्यवत् ॥ Why do we say 'having a light vowel'? Observe अततक्षत्, अररक्षत्, अजजागरत् ॥

Some say, that in अजजागरत्, the syllable ग is *light*, and therefore, the san-vat rule would apply: for a light vowel no where *immediately* follows a reduplicate; therefore, though a long syllable जा intervenes, yet the rule will apply, because of the express text. This reasoning is wrong. The maxim येन नाव्यवधानं तेन व्यवहितेऽपि वचनप्रामाण्यात् cannot be extended to cases like this. It applies only when the intervention consists of one letter and not of more than one. Obj. If so, how do you form अचिक्षणत् for here two letters क् and ष् (क्ष) intervene between the reduplicate and the light vowel. Ans. The author indicates by implication in VII. 4. 95 that these roots like क्षणु do take इ in the reduplicate; for had it not been so, what was the necessity of making an exception in favor of roots like स्मृ, त्वर्, स्तॄ, स्पश् in VII. 4. 95. So that a conjunct consonant is not considered an intervention for the purposes of this rule. Therefore, स्मृ &c would have taken इ in the reduplicate by VII. 4. 79, read with the present sûtra, and so the Achârya enjoins अ instead in VII.4.95 with regard to these.

Why do we say 'when चङ् follows'? Observe अहं पपच ॥ Why do we use the word परे "followed by"? The rule would not apply when चङ् *alone* follows without णि, as अचकमत् where कम् has taken चङ् under the vârtika कमेरुपसंख्यानम् ॥

Why do we say 'when an अक् vowel has not been dropped'? Observe अचकथत् from the Churâdi root कथ which ends in अ, and this अ is elided by VI. 4. 48. Obj. This lopa being considered sthânivat, will prevent the application of the present rule, as there will be an intervention. Ans. We shall give another example, अववृषत् from वृषलमाख्यातवान् ॥ Here णिच् is added to वृषल under the Vârtika तत्करोति तदाचष्टे, and the टि portion is elided by इष्ठवद्भावः, here a vowel and a consonant have been elided, and so the lopa is not sthânivat.

In the double causative Aorist अवीवदत् the present rule applies, though one णि has been elided. अवीवदत्—वादितवन्तं प्रयोजितवान् ॥ In fact, the elision of one णि when followed by another णि is not considered as an ak-lopa; the latter refers to the elision of any other vowel than णि ॥ Therefore we have अवीवदद् वीणां परिवादकेन ॥ In fact, this exception rests on the following vârtika सन्वद्भाव-दीर्घत्वे णौ णिच्युपसंख्यानम् ॥

The lopa of the reduplicate which takes place before सन् of the roots मी, मा &c (VII. 4. 54) does not, however, take place in चङ् Aorist. The analogy does not extend so far. In fact, the present sûtra teaches a रूपातिदेश,

namely the *form* which a reduplicate has in Desiderative, will be the *form* in the Aorist. But as मी, मा &c have *no* reduplicate form in the Desiderative, the analogy stops. Therefore, we shall have अमीमपत् ॥ Moreover the word सन्वत् here means the operations that depend *solely* on सन् ॥ Now the total elision of the reduplicate by VII. 4. 54 does not depend upon सन् *alone*, but upon the augment इस् also of VII. 4. 54. But as there can be no इस् in the Aorist, so there will be no elision also. In fact, an atidesà should be confined to general cases and not to particulars.

दीर्घो लघोः ॥ ९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ दीर्घः, लघोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दीर्घो भवति लघोरभ्यासस्य लघुनि णौ चङ्परे ऽनग्लोपे ॥

94. In the reduplicative syllable, a prosodially short vowel is lengthened in the Reduplicated Aorist of the Causative, when the vowel of the root is light, and the root has not lost its end-vowel before the Causative णि ॥

Thus अचीकरत्, the इ (VII. 4. 79) is lengthened. Similarly अजीहरत्, अलीलवत्, अपीपवत् ॥ Why do we say which is prosodially light? Observe अचि-भजत् ॥ Why do we say when the vowel of the root is light? Observe अततक्षत्, अररक्षत् ॥ Why do we say in the reduplicated Aorist? Observe अहं पपच ॥ The word पर is understood here also, so the rule will not apply to simple roots as अचकमत् ॥ The words 'anaglope' are to be read here, therefore not so in अचकथत् ॥

अत्स्मृदृत्वरप्रथम्रदस्तॄस्पशाम् ॥ ९५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अत, स्मृ-दृ-त्वर-प्रथ-म्रद, स्तॄ-स्पशाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्मृ दृ त्वर प्रथ म्रद स्तॄ स्पश इत्येतेषामभ्यासस्यात्त्वमादेशो भवति चङ्परे णौ परतः ॥

95. Short अ is substituted for the vowel of the reduplicate in the Reduplicated Aorist of the Causative, of the roots smṛi, dṛî, tvar, prath, mrad, stṛî and spaś,

Thus असस्मरत्, अददरत्, अतत्वरत्, अपप्रथत्, अमम्रदत्, अतस्तरत्, अपस्पशत् ॥ This debars the इ which would have come under VII. 4. 93. The '*short* अ indicates that it is not to be lengthened by VII. 4. 94, as अददरत् ॥

विभाषा वेष्टिचेष्ट्योः ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, वेष्टि, चेष्ट्योः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वेष्टि चेष्टि इत्येतयोरभ्यासस्य विभाषा अत्त्वमादेशो भवति चङ्परे णौ परतः ॥

96. Short अ is optionally substituted for the vowel of the reduplicate in वेष्ट् and चेष्ट् in the Reduplicated Aorist of the Causative.

Thus अववेष्टत् or अविवेष्टत्, अचचेष्टत् and अचिचेष्टत् ॥ In one alternative there is shortening of the reduplicate (VII. 4. 59), and after such shortening, there is अ substituted in the other alternative.

ई च गणः ॥ ९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ई, च, गणः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गणेरभ्यासस्य ईकारादेशो भवति चङ्परे णौ परतः ॥

97. In the Reduplicated Aorist of the Causative, ई is substituted optionally for the vowel of the reduplicate in गण् ॥

As अजीगणत् or अजगणत् ॥ गण is a root which ends in अ, and this अ being elided by VI. 4. 48 before the Causative णि, the rule VII. 4. 93, does not apply to it, because there is an ak-lopa here, so in the other alternative, it has its natural अ ॥

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